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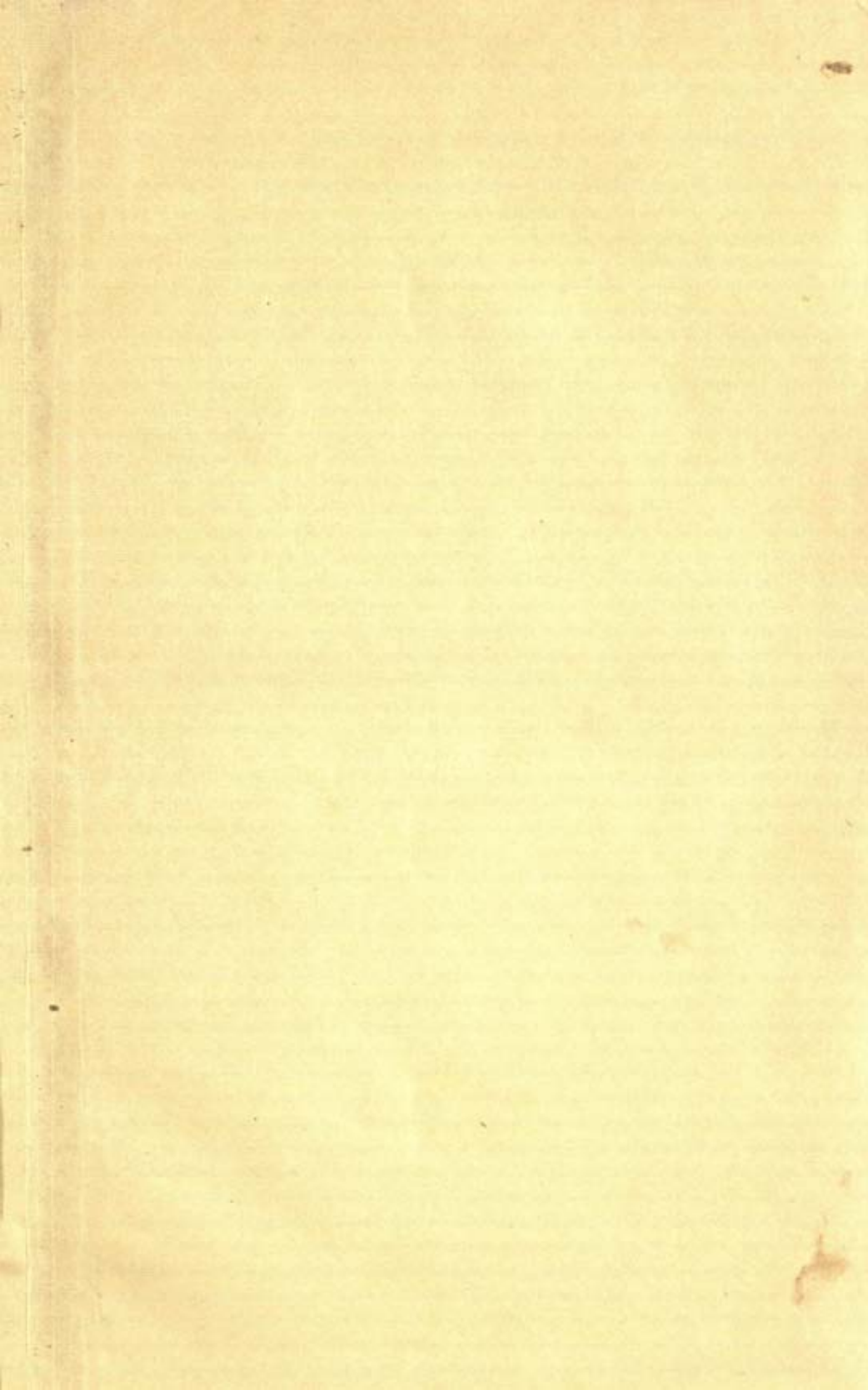
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Speeches of President Rogers Pugh
1952-56

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SPEECHES OF
PRESIDENT RAJENDRA PRASAD
(1952—1956)



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SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT RAJENDRA PRASAD

1952—1956

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IN THE SERVICE OF THE NATION *

I have just taken the oath of office as President and affirmed my determination to dedicate myself to the service of this great country. As President I stand before you as the sign and symbol of the Republic of India.

In our ancient history we read of republics having been established in different parts of our country and at different times, but their sway was limited to small parts of it and we do not fully know the method of their administration. This is the first occasion when the administration of the entire country has come under the jurisdiction of one great democratic republic. The structure of this republic of ours, as laid down in our Constitution, is broadbased on all the adult men and women of this country. Over 170 millions of them have elected their representatives to carry on the administration and to shape the destiny of India. These representatives have elected me as President and, in so doing, they have given now full effect to the Constitution which we made with such labour.

As an individual and a countryman of yours and even more so as a comrade with many of you in the struggle for India's freedom, I am overwhelmed with gratitude for this signal mark of your confidence, but even more than the gratitude, I feel the heavy responsibility and burden of this high office.

The establishment of this democratic republic could only take place after the attainment of Independence. It is therefore the first and most important duty of everyone of us to preserve and protect this freedom which we have secured after generations of struggle and sacrifice. It is our earnest aim to improve and raise the masses of our people, but all our plans for improvement and uplift of the country depend upon the preservation of our freedom. Our entire life, national and individual, revolves round that basic freedom. It is my duty, as it is yours, to preserve and protect this freedom at all cost.

It will be my first and foremost endeavour in performing this duty to treat all our people belonging to the different parts of the country, to various classes, creeds and schools of thought, with

* Address by Dr. Rajendra Prasad at the swearing-in ceremony, 13 May, 1952.

equality and impartiality. Another duty, which I share with you, will be to seek the friendship of all other countries and to find ways of cooperation with them.

My request to all the people of this country is to treat me as one of them and to give me the opportunity and encouragement to serve them to the best of my capacity. I pray that God may give me the strength and wisdom to dedicate myself in the true spirit of service to the fulfilment of my duties and responsibilities.

ADDRESSES TO THE PARLIAMENT

ADDRESS TO FIRST ELECTED PARLIAMENT

16 May, 1952

I welcome you here today as Members of the first Parliament of the Republic of India elected under our Constitution. We have now given full effect to the provisions of the Constitution relating to the composition of the Legislatures and the Headship of the State, and thus completed one stage of our journey. Even as we complete that stage, we start on another. There is no resting place for a nation or a people on their onward march. You, Members of Parliament, newly elected by over 170 millions of our people, are the pilgrims who have to march forward in their company. On you rest a unique privilege and a heavy responsibility.

As I speak to you on this historic occasion, I have a feeling of the high destiny of our ancient land and the vast numbers of men and women who live in it. Destiny beckons to us and it is for us to respond to its call. That call is for the service of this great land of India, which has passed through good fortune and ill-fortune alike since its story began many thousands of years ago, at the dawn of history. During these many years, greatness has come to our land and tragedy has also been our fate. Now that we stand on the threshold of another phase of India's long story, we have to determine afresh how best to serve her. You and I have taken the oath of service to this country of ours. May we be true to that pledge and dedicate our highest endeavour to its fulfilment.

India has, after a long period of subjection, gained her freedom and independence. That freedom has to be maintained, defended and enlarged at all cost, for it is on the basis of that freedom alone that any structure of progress can be built. But freedom by itself is not enough—it must also bring a measure of happiness to our people and a lessening of the burdens they suffer under. It has, therefore, become of vital importance for us to labour for the rapid

economic advancement of our people and to endeavour to realise the noble ideals of equality and social and economic justice which have been laid down in our Constitution.

India has represented throughout her history certain other urges of the human spirit. That has, perhaps, been the distinguishing mark of India, and even in recent years we saw a noble example of that ancient spirit and urge of India in the form of Mahatma Gandhi, who led us to freedom. To him, political freedom was a vital step, but only a step to the larger freedom of the human spirit. He taught us the way of peace and non-violence, but not the peace of the grave or the non-violence of the timid. And he taught us, in line with the teachings of India's ancient sages and great men, that it is not through hatred and violence that great ends are achieved, that right ends must be pursued and achieved only through right methods. That is a basic lesson not only for us in India, but, if I may venture to say so, for people throughout the world.

I earnestly trust that, in the great tasks that face us, you will remember this ancient and ever-new message of India and will work in a spirit of co-operative endeavour, placing the cause of the nation and of humanity above all lesser objectives. We have to build up the unity of India, the unity of a free people working for the realisation of the high destiny that awaits them. We have, therefore, to put an end to all tendencies that weaken that unity and raise barriers between us, the barriers of communalism, provincialism and casteism. Opinions will and must differ in regard to many political and economic matters, but if the good of India and her people is our dominant urge and we realise, as we must, that this good can only be achieved through the methods of peaceful co-operation and democratic processes, then these differences can only add to the richness of our public life.

It is with this outlook that I beg of you to face your problems here in this country and to face the world with friendly eyes and without fear. Fear today, fear of some approaching disaster, darkens the world. It is not through fear that the individual or the nation grows, but through fearlessness, *abhaya*, as our ancient books tell us.

We have consistently pursued a policy of friendship with all the countries of the world and that policy, though sometimes misunderstood, has been progressively appreciated by others and is yielding fruit. I trust that we shall firmly continue that policy and

thus try to lessen somewhat the tension that exists in many parts of the world. My Government has not sought to interfere with other countries just as it does not invite any interference from others in our own country. We have tried the method of co-operation wherever possible and our good offices are always available to further the cause of peace. We have no desire to thrust them on anyone. We realise, however, that in the world today no country can remain isolated, that it is inevitable that international co-operation should grow till, at some distant date, all the nations of the world join together in a great co-operative endeavour for the advancement of humanity.

For nearly a year now, efforts have been made in Korea to find some way to a truce which might lead to a peaceful settlement of the many problems that afflict the far-east corner of Asia. I have expressed the hope on several occasions that success will crown these efforts and peace be established again. It is the greatest of tragedies that, despite assertions of goodwill for the Korean people, this ancient country has been reduced by war, hunger and pestilence to utter ruin. It has become a signal and a warning to the world of what war means, whatever immediate justification might be advanced for it. War does not solve problems, it creates them. In Korea now it appears that most of the obstacles to a truce have been overcome and only one major hurdle, the exchange of prisoners, remains. It should not be beyond the wit of statesmen to overcome this last obstacle. Not to do so will be to confess the failure not only of wisdom but of common humanity. The world hungers for peace and the statesmen who bring peace will remove a heavy and fearful burden that now oppresses the minds of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world.

I have referred on previous occasions to the great nationalist upsurge in various parts of Asia and Africa which are still denied freedom. In particular, I have made reference to recent events in Tunisia and expressed our sympathy for the people of that land in their desire for freedom. I regret greatly that, in spite of the desire of a large number of countries in Asia and Africa, even a discussion of this subject was not allowed in the United Nations. The United Nations Organisation was meant to represent the world community, inclusive of all, and its primary aim was the preservation of peace. Gradually, the noble aims of the founders of the United Nations and the Charter that they framed appear to be getting blurred. The wide vision gives place to a more limited outlook. The conception of

universality changes into something far narrower and the urge to peace weakens. The United Nations Organisation came into existence to fulfil a deeply felt want of humanity. If it fails to fulfil that want and becomes an ineffective organ for the maintenance of peace and advancement of freedom, that, indeed, will be tragedy. I earnestly trust that this great organisation, on which the hopes of the world have been built up, will return to its old moorings and become, as it was meant to be, a pillar of peace and freedom.

My Government has sent a Cultural Delegation to our great neighbour, China. That Delegation has carried the greetings and goodwill of our people to the people of China. I should like to express my gratitude for the cordial welcome that it has received from the Government and people of China.

I regret greatly that the racial policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa has continued and has led to serious developments. Our people have been intimately concerned over this policy because there are many people of Indian origin who live in South Africa. But this question is no longer merely one of Indians in South Africa; it has already assumed a greater and wider significance. It is a question of racial domination and racial intolerance. It is a question of the future of Africans even more than that of Indians in South Africa. Delay in settling this and like questions is fraught with peril for humanity. I am glad that there has been a growth of friendly relations all over Africa between the Africans and the Indians resident there. It is our desire not to interfere in any way with the growth of the peoples of Africa, but to help them to the best of our ability.

I regret also that a large number of Indians, long resident in Ceylon, have been deprived of their voting rights. They claim to be as much Ceylonese citizens as other inhabitants of that country. Our ties with Ceylon go back to thousands of years and our relations with Ceylon and her people have been most friendly. We welcomed her independence and we hoped that her people would advance in every way as an independent people. But true progress will not come by depriving a large number of citizens of their natural rights. This will lead, as it has already led, to serious problems and complications.

We have for many years past suffered a shortage of food and large quantities of foodgrains have had to be imported. In this

we were helped greatly by the United States of America, and we must be grateful to that great country for the generous help that it gave us. For the first time in recent history, we have larger stocks of foodgrains (except rice), and are building up a substantial reserve which will help us in the future in case of need. This is to be welcomed. But the failure of the rains over large parts of our country has created a difficult situation for the people there. For five successive seasons, Rayalseema has suffered the misfortune of a drought and its greatest need today is water. Our army is doing valuable work to help the civil population by deepening wells and carrying water and in other ways. In these large areas of drought and scarcity, many minor projects have been undertaken to provide work and cheap grain shops have been opened. Wherever necessary, free food is given.

Owing to the high cost of imported foodgrains, their price has gone up. The contraction of the food subsidy has contributed in some measure to those high prices, and has caused some distress and discontent in rationed areas. To some extent this is partly counter-balanced by a general fall in prices. The limitation of food subsidies has induced Governments in various States to make a more realistic appraisal of their need for import of foodgrains, and this has led to a reduction of the demand from various States for foodgrains, with its consequent result on their import. This is undoubtedly an advantage at the present juncture and for the future. The amount saved from the food subsidies has been diverted to financing minor irrigation schemes which will yield more foodgrains in future and thus help in solving our food problem. My Government is giving the most careful attention to these matters. It has to balance immediate with future advantages. At the same time, it is anxious that no distress should be caused and it will do all in its power to prevent this from happening.

The Planning Commission is now finalising its report on the Five-Year Plan. A very vital addition to this Plan has been made by the proposal to start fifty-five Community Projects throughout the country. This has been possible because of aid from the United States of America through their Technical Co-operation Plan. These Community Projects are not only intended to increase our food production but, what is even more important, to raise the whole level of community living. It is hoped that this programme will grow and cover a considerable part of India. But it can only grow if it has the full co-operation of the people and I earnestly trust

that in this matter, as in implementing the other proposals of the Planning Commission, their co-operation will be forthcoming in full measure.

The integrated programme for agricultural production has made satisfactory progress. Jute production has increased considerably from 16.6 lakh bales in 1947-48 to 46.8 lakh bales in 1951-52. Cotton production has gone up during the same period from 24 lakh bales to over 33 lakh bales. Production of foodgrains has increased by 14 lakh tons, though this has been offset by drought in certain areas. Sugar production increased from 10.75 lakh tons in 1947-48 to 13.5 lakh tons in 1951-52. There has also been an increase in the production of steel, coal, cement and salt. India is now self-sufficient in salt and is able to export her surplus. A Central Salt Research Station is being established in Saurashtra.

The general economic situation in the country has been kept under continuous observation by my Government. In my last address to Parliament I referred to a slight fall in wholesale prices. This trend was sharply accentuated in the months of February and March. Partly this was due to a general readjustment of prices all over the world, a process which started in 1950 but received a setback owing to the outbreak of the Korean war. With the prospect of an armistice in Korea in sight, this process of readjustment gathered strength. This has been assisted by an increased production of goods in the country coupled with increasing consumer resistance to high prices. The monetary and credit policy of my Government, initiated with a view to checking inflation, has also contributed to the fall in prices. This sharp fall in the price level has caused difficulties to those engaged in business and industry, more especially in the textile industry. This is also leading to a fall in our export earnings. My Government are closely watching the situation to ensure that production and employment are not affected. It is their intention to take such action as might be necessary to assist in the stabilisation of prices at a reasonable level.

I am glad that a new Ministry of Production has been created. Production by State-owned industries is of vital importance and the creation of a new Ministry for this purpose indicates that special attention is going to be paid to it.

An assurance was given by Government last year to Parliament that a Press Commission would be appointed to consider various matters connected with the Press. My Government hope to appoint

such a Commission in the near future. It is also proposed to place before Parliament a bill arising out of the recommendations of the Press Laws Enquiry Committee.

This session of Parliament will be mainly concerned with the Budget and there will probably not be much time for other legislation. A statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year 1952-53 will be laid before you. The members of the House of the People will be required to consider and pass the demands for grants.

After the last session of the provisional Parliament, it became necessary to promulgate an Ordinance relating to the repealing of the Saurashtra (Abolition of Local Sea Customs Duties and imposition of) Port Development Levy. This Ordinance will be brought before you in the form of a new bill and you will be asked to consider and pass it. Another Ordinance was issued for the purpose of extending the Displaced Persons (Claims) Act, 1950. A bill to replace this Ordinance will also be placed before you.

A number of bills which were introduced in the provisional Parliament have now lapsed. Some of these will be placed before you in so far as time permits. It is also proposed to place before Parliament a bill dealing with Preventive Detention.

One of the legislative measures which was discussed at considerable length in the provisional Parliament was the Hindu Code Bill. This could not be passed and, in common with other pending bills, has lapsed. It is the intention of my Government to introduce a fresh legislation on this subject. It is proposed, however, to divide up the bill into certain parts and to place each part separately before Parliament, so as to facilitate its discussion and passage.

I have endeavoured to indicate to you some of the work that will be placed before this session of Parliament. I trust that your labours will bear fruit for the good of our people and that this new Parliament of the Democratic Republic of India will set an example of friendly co-operation and efficient working. Your success will depend on the spirit of tolerance that governs your activities and the wisdom that inspires your efforts. I earnestly trust therefore that this wisdom and tolerance of spirit will always be with you.

ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT

11 February, 1953

Nine months ago, I welcomed you as members of the first Parliament of the Republic of India elected under our Constitution. Since then, you have had to shoulder heavy burdens and to face difficult problems, both domestic and international. As we meet here today, we bring with us faith in our country's destiny and the assurance that our people are advancing, through their labours, towards the goal that we have set before us. These nine months have seen advances on many fronts, industrial and agricultural, and the finalisation of the Five-Year Plan, which has mapped out the lines of our progress in the coming years. It is for us now to march along that path and to implement and fulfil the promise held out to our people. That is no easy task, for a multitude of old and new problems always tend to overwhelm us and our wishes often run faster than our capacity and resources.

At this moment, when we require all the wisdom and experience of our leaders, it is a misfortune that we have lost one of the most eminent and devoted of our elder statesmen. I learnt with deep sorrow of the death yesterday, in the early morning of Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyengar, who had filled, in the course of a full life, many high offices with rare distinction. To the end of his days, regardless of his health and the leisure he had so richly earned, he devoted his life to the service of his country and people. His colleagues in the Government and I relied on his ripe wisdom whenever any difficult problem confronted us. His death is a great loss to the country and to all of us.

While we labour in our country to build up a new and prosperous India, bringing relief to the millions who have suffered so much in the past from the curse of poverty, the problems of the rest of the world thrust themselves upon us and we cannot avoid them or isolate ourselves from them. My Government have no desire to interfere with other countries, but they have to face the responsibility which has inevitably come with independence to India. We have endeavoured, as is well known, to pursue a policy of peace and of friendship with all the countries of the world. Gradually, that policy has been understood and appreciated, even by those who may not always agree with it, and it is recognised that India stands for peace

among the nations and will avoid taking any step which might encourage the tendency to war. In pursuit of this policy, my Government put forward certain proposals which they hoped might lead to a settlement of the Korean war. Those proposals met with a very large measure of support, but unfortunately some of the great countries most intimately concerned were unable to accept them. This war continues not only to the utter misery and ruin of the people of Korea, but also as a focus of danger for the rest of the world. Certain statements recently made, and the consequences that might flow from them in extending the war in Korea, have caused considerable apprehension in the minds of people all over the world. My Government have viewed these developments with grave concern. I trust that any tendency towards an extension of the war, which has already brought disaster in its train, will be checked and the minds of nations and peoples will be turned towards a peaceful approach to these problems. My Government will continue to work to this end and will pursue a policy of friendship with all countries without any alignment with one group of nations against another. The democratic processes to which we are so firmly committed in our own country involve methods of peaceful approach to problems. If democracy is to survive, the same climate of peace and spirit of reconciliation has to be extended to the international sphere.

The General Assembly of the United Nations will meet again in the near future and will consider these grave problems, on which hangs the momentous issue of peace or war in the world. I earnestly hope that the great nations whose representatives will assemble there will address themselves to the promotion of a spirit of reconciliation and the fulfilment of the objectives embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

In the continent of Africa, which continues to be the greatest sphere of colonialism today, events have taken a turn for the worse. In South Africa, the doctrine of racial domination is openly proclaimed and enforced by all the power of the State. The efforts made by the United Nations to deal with this problem have been ignored by the Government of the Union of South Africa. A movement against racial discrimination which was remarkable for its peaceful and disciplined character is sought to be crushed by legislation and governmental action, which are unique in their denial of democratic processes and the purpose which was proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations. In East Africa there is racial

conflict which, if not ended to the satisfaction of the people, is likely to extend to and engulf vast areas of Africa. There are many people still who do not realise that racial domination and discrimination cannot be tolerated in the world today and any attempt to perpetuate them can only lead to disaster.

Our relations with our neighbour countries in Western and South-Eastern Asia continue to be close and friendly and there is an increasing measure of co-operation between us. Even in regard to Pakistan, with which unfortunately our relations have been strained, there has been a certain improvement. That improvement is not very great, but it is an indication which I welcome. Recent conferences between representatives of the two countries have been held in a friendly atmosphere and will, I hope, yield results. The upheaval caused by the introduction of the passport system between the two countries has subsided and many of the difficulties that were created by this system are being gradually removed. I trust that this effort will be continued and directed towards the removal of the basic problems that still confront the minorities in East Bengal.

The canal waters issue is being considered at a technical level jointly by representatives of the two countries, assisted by the International Bank. This issue is eminently one which ought to be considered objectively and dispassionately so that the maximum advantage can be derived by both countries from the waters that flow through them. A great proportion of these waters run waste to the sea. If they can be properly harnessed, they will bring relief and prosperity to vast numbers of human beings in both India and Pakistan. It is unfortunate that an issue like this should be treated in a spirit of rivalry and hostility. I trust that the new approach will yield fruitful and happy results to both countries. This approach can also be applied to the settlement of the evacuee property problem which affects the fortunes of millions of people both in India and in Pakistan.

Another vital issue between India and Pakistan has been the Jammu and Kashmir State. This matter is again being discussed by our representatives with the Representatives of the United Nations. That issue, like others, has to be considered dispassionately, keeping always the welfare of the people of that State in view. It is not by war or threats of war that this or any other outstanding problem between India and Pakistan can be solved. My Government have declared repeatedly that they will not go to war unless they are attacked, and have invited a like declaration by Pakistan. If fear

of war was eliminated, it would be much easier to consider all the issues that confront us today.

Internally, progress has been made in many ways in the Jammu and Kashmir State. Our Constitution contains specific provisions about the relationship of India with the State, and by an agreement between the Government of India and the Jammu and Kashmir Government, the bonds that tie that State to India have been strengthened and made closer. A part of this agreement has been implemented and the remaining part should also come into operation soon. Unfortunately a misconceived agitation was started in Jammu which, though aiming at a closer union with India, is likely to have exactly the opposite effect. I trust that this misguided agitation will cease and the people of Jammu and Kashmir will co-operate for the progress and advancement of the State in the larger Union of India. Where there are legitimate grievances, they will undoubtedly be enquired into and every effort made to remove them.

The question of linguistic provinces has often agitated the people in various parts of the country. While language and culture are important considerations in the formation of States, it has to be remembered that the States are administrative units in the Union of India and that other considerations also have to be kept in mind. Above all, the unity of India and national security have always to be given the first priority. Financial and administrative aspects as well as economic progress are also important. Keeping all these factors in view, there is no reason why the question of the reorganisation of States should not be considered fully and dispassionately so as to meet the wishes of the people and help in their economic and cultural progress. I am glad that my Government have taken steps in the matter of the formation of a separate Andhra State and I hope that there will be no great delay in establishing this new State. Any such change as the establishment of a new State demands the fullest co-operation of all those concerned with it and I trust that this will be forthcoming.

The Planning Commission has completed the first part of its labours by finalising its report of the Five-Year Plan. The other and more difficult part of implementing this Plan now faces the country and to that we must address ourselves. I am glad to find that this Plan and the fifty-five Community Projects that have been started in the country are evoking a considerable degree of enthusiasm among our people. In the course of a few months,

hundreds of miles of roads have been built, tanks dug, school buildings constructed and many other minor projects undertaken almost entirely by the voluntary labour of our people. That is a sign of hope and promise, for it lies with our people ultimately what they make of their future.

The general economic situation in the country shows distinct signs of improvement, although there are still unfortunately areas where, owing to lack of rain, near-famine conditions prevail. The State Governments are doing their utmost to give relief by utility works or otherwise in these areas. The problem, however, has to be tackled in a more basic way so as to avoid recurrence of famine conditions and a complete dependence upon the vagaries of the monsoon.

The Finance Commission, constituted towards the end of 1951 under the provisions of Article 280 of the Constitution, have submitted their report. The Commission's recommendations have been accepted by my Government and necessary action will be taken for implementing them. The recommendations of the Commission will be laid on the table of the both Houses of Parliament in the current session.

There has been a steady improvement in the food situation and the closing stock for 1952 was 19 lakh tons, which is the highest on record so far. One of the factors in building up this stock was the wheat loan from the U.S.A. The prospects of foodgrains for 1952-53 are better than those in the two preceding years. Owing mainly to drought in parts of Bombay, Madras and Mysore, caused by an inadequate monsoon, foodgrains will have to be imported, but their quantity will be less than in the last two years. It is of the highest importance that we should gain self-sufficiency in food and I hope that this might be possible within the three remaining years of the Five-Year Plan. For the first time, we start this year with a considerable stock of foodgrains. We should endeavour to build this up so that we can meet any contingency. Prices of foodgrains have shown a downward trend in recent months. Controls have been relaxed in many parts of India and there is greater freedom of movement. The Government, however, intend to retain control at strategic points so that no untoward results may affect prices or procurement.

The production of sugar during 1951-52 reached the record figure of 15 lakh tons and for the first time production exceeded internal requirements. This made it possible to relax control over

the prices, movement and distribution of sugar, as well as on gur and khandsari. With the easing of the supply position of groundnut oil, controls of prices on hydrogenated oils have also been lifted, except those intended to ensure quality.

Very considerable progress has been made in cotton and jute production. In 1948-49 cotton production amounted to 17.7 lakh bales and jute 20.7 lakh bales. In 1951-52 cotton production had increased to 31.3 lakh bales and jute to 46.8 lakh bales.

In order to add to the country's food production, special attention is being paid to the construction of more than 2,000 tube-wells and for an accelerated programme of minor irrigation works. Crop competitions are becoming increasingly popular all over the country and have yielded very remarkable results. Large-scale experiments are being made to introduce what is called the Japanese method of paddy cultivation which promises substantial results in increase of yield. A large mechanised farm has been set up in Jammu Province. Vigorous attempts are being made for the extensive application of fertilizers and other manures and for the use of improved seeds. The community centres are specially aiming at increasing the yield of foodgrains by various methods, including a rural extension service.

For the improvement of cattle, 92 key farm centres were started in 1951-52. In addition, it is proposed to provide one key village unit in each Community Project area. Sheep breeding schemes have been reorganised to provide for the production of fine wool. A Board for the preservation of wild life has been set up. At Jodhpur a Desert Afforestation Research Station is being established. This will undertake work for the reclamation of arid areas.

The Sindri Fertilizer Factory produced 180,000 tons of ammonium sulphate during 1952. This is expected to be increased to three lakh tons in 1953. The pool price has been reduced from Rs. 365/- to Rs. 355/- per ton. The production of cotton textiles, which amounted to 4,600 million yards during 1952, was highly satisfactory and the prospects for the next year are good. The lower prices of millmade cloth, though welcome, led to a fall in the offtake of handloom cloth and the handloom industry, which provides livelihood to millions of people in the country, was faced with serious difficulties. My Government attach great importance to this and other cottage industries both because vast numbers of people are employed in them and because they are the most effective method of removing unemployment. An All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board has been established and legislation undertaken to

raise funds for technical development and research for village and cottage industries. In order to help the handloom industry, the production of dhoties by mill industry was curtailed to sixty per cent of the 1951-52 production.

The tea industry was badly affected by the fall in international prices. My Government have taken measures to assist tea gardens to secure better credit facilities and propose to set up an expert committee to enquire into all aspects of the tea industry, including marketing. The price of tea is now showing some signs of improvement.

The readjustment of world prices affected foreign trade and exports fell in value and to a lesser extent in quantity. The balance of payments position, however, continued to be satisfactory, as imports also declined.

My Government have been paying special attention to the tribal areas in the North-East and other parts of India and help is being given for their development. A Commission to consider the problems of backward classes has been appointed. A Press Commission has also been appointed to consider problems of the newspaper press in India.

The great multi-purpose river valley projects have made good progress and in some of them the operational phase will begin soon. Work on other projects has made steady progress.

Steps are being taken to improve the efficiency of the Hindustan Shipyard at Visakhapatnam and for the expansion of the iron and steel industry. Production of coal, steel, cement, salt and fertilizers has reached higher levels than in the previous year.

Scientific research has made further progress by the establishment of new National Laboratories and Research Institutes. A Central Electro-Chemical Research Institute was opened at Karaikudi and a Central Leather Research Institute at Madras. A Building Research Institute will be opened soon at Roorkee. A factory for processing monazite sands has been set up at Alwaye in Travancore-Cochin and a Machine Tool Prototype Factory was recently opened at Ambarnath in Bombay State. The Hindustan Aircraft Factory at Bangalore has produced, from its own designs, a number of trainer aircraft which are being used now. A defence factory near Jubbulpore is nearing completion.

My Government have decided to take under State control the existing air companies and to operate the scheduled air services. It is proposed to establish two State Corporations for this purpose, one for internal services and the other for external services.

Indian Railways are celebrating their centenary next month. This great State undertaking belonging to the community is continuing its progress and extending its operations.

The progress of a people and a nation ultimately depends upon education. My Government view with much concern the present state of education in the country which suffers in many ways, both in quality and quantity, and too much attention is paid to the granting of diplomas and degrees and not to the real improvement of the individual in culture, scientific and technical matters and, above all, in the training for good citizenship. Basic education has been adopted as the model, but progress in this has thus far been unfortunately slow. Many schemes for the improvement of basic, secondary and social education are under consideration, and a Commission on Secondary Education has been appointed.

An over-all view of the situation in India indicates all-round general progress at an increasing pace. This is a matter for satisfaction. But the goal we have yet before us is still far and requires greater and continuous effort and an increasing pace of change. We aim at a Welfare State in which all the people of this country are partners sharing alike the benefits and the obligations. So long as there is poverty and unemployment, a section of the community derives no benefit from this partnership. It is, therefore, necessary for us to aim at full and productive employment.

A statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year 1953-54 will be laid before you. The Members of the House of the People will be required to consider and pass the demands for grants.

The House of the People will also be asked to vote supplementary grants to meet additional expenditure during the current financial year.

There are 24 Bills pending before you. Some of them have passed the Committee stage. A few of them, which are still under consideration by the Committees, will be brought before you with their recommendations during the course of this session.

Among the other legislative measures that it is intended to bring before you, the following may be especially mentioned: The Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill, the Bill of National Housing, the Air Services Corporation Bill, the Minimum Wages (Amendment) Bill, and the Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill.

I earnestly trust that wisdom and tolerance and the spirit of co-operative endeavour will guide you in your labours and will yield

results for the good of the country and the people whom we are all privileged to serve.

ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT

15 February, 1954

I have come here, after a full year, to welcome you to the new session of Parliament. During this past year, you have had to consider many difficult problems and to shoulder heavy burdens. Many of those problems still remain with us, but I think that you may well look back on this year as one of considerable achievement. As a symbol of the indomitable spirit of man conquering almost insurmountable obstacles and difficulties, came the final conquest of Everest. With this signal achievement was associated one of our own brave countrymen. In the international sphere, the old tensions and fears continue. But efforts are being continually made to find some settlement and I earnestly trust that these efforts will lead to an easing of these tensions and will point the way to some future settlement both in the West and in the Far East.

India has continued to pursue a policy of peace and friendship with all the countries of the world and has not hesitated to undertake responsibilities where, it was hoped, she might be able to perform some service in the cause of peace. In Korea, my Government accepted the Chairmanship of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and sent a Custodian Force to take charge of the prisoners of war, pending a final decision about their future. Unfortunately, the processes laid down in the Armistice Agreement could not be carried through as intended, and a difficult situation arose. The Commission will conclude its labours within a few days and the Custodian Force is gradually returning to India. The major matters of dispute in Korea have not been settled yet. I earnestly hope that an early attempt will be made in the United Nations General Assembly, or otherwise, to give full consideration to these outstanding issues. I should like to express, on your behalf

and mine, our high appreciation of the work of our representatives in the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in Korea and of our officers and men of the Custodian Force, who discharged their difficult and delicate tasks with ability and impartiality.

India's relations with other countries continue to be friendly, even though sometimes some misunderstandings arise. My Government's representatives are at present discussing with the Government of the People's Republic of China various issues of common concern in regard to Tibet. I have every hope that these discussions will lead to a settlement of outstanding issues. Trade agreements have been made with the Soviet Union and several other countries. In the course of the past year, meetings took place between my Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of Pakistan. These meetings were friendly and led to some understandings about various matters which have long been in dispute between the two countries. While some progress was made in this respect, unfortunately some other developments have at present come in the way of further progress. I am glad to find that an agreement has been arrived at between my Government and the Government of Ceylon over the long-standing issue concerning the people of Indian descent in Ceylon. This agreement does not finally solve this problem but is a first step and an earnest attempt to that end and I welcome it as such. It has always been my Government's endeavour to develop close and friendly relations with our neighbour countries, Ceylon and Burma, with whom India has not only geographical but also cultural affinities of long standing.

With the countries of Western Asia and Egypt, our relations have been of close co-operation and friendship. I am glad that the services of our Chief Election Commissioner as Chairman of the Electoral Commission for the Sudan were appreciated and successful elections were held there. I welcome the emergence of self-government in the Sudan both in itself and as a symbol of future progress in the Continent of Africa, which has suffered so much in the past and is now undergoing a severe ordeal.

Since I addressed you on the last occasion, a new State in the Indian Union has come into existence, the State of Andhra. I welcome this addition to our fraternity of States and wish it success. In view of the demands for further reorganisation of the States in India, my Government have appointed a Commission for this purpose consisting of eminent and experienced members. This is a task of high and historic importance, which has to be dealt with in an

objective and dispassionate manner so as to promote the welfare of the people of the areas concerned as well as of the nation as a whole. I earnestly trust that the work of this Commission will be assisted by all concerned in a spirit of harmony and understanding.

In two of our States, namely, Travancore-Cochin and Patiala and East Punjab States Union, general elections are taking place. In the latter State, the Constitution could not function properly and I had to take over charge till such time as fresh elections could take place.

Half the period of the first Five-Year Plan is over. In some matters progress has not been as rapid as was hoped, in others it has been very significant. In particular, the Community Projects show promise and the National Extension Service, which was inaugurated in October 1953, is making satisfactory progress. The contribution of the people has been most encouraging. This is a particularly happy feature. Although there has been marked progress in industrial production and in other respects, my Government have felt great concern at the existence of a considerable volume of unemployment. The Planning Commission have undertaken a revision of the first Five-Year Plan, particularly to provide more employment.

There has been a continued improvement in the general economic situation. The output of foodgrains in 1952-53 was five lakh tons more than the output of the previous year and this year's prospects are good. The improvement in the food situation has been highly satisfactory and the country is making rapid approach to the goal of self-sufficiency. Industrial production has continued at a high level, more particularly in cotton textile, paper, chemicals, bicycles, cement, salt and most of the engineering industries. The index of industrial production rose from 129 in 1952 to 134 in 1953. This was the highest level of industrial production since the war. Plans for the expansion of steel production and for the establishment of a new iron and steel plant are now being finalised. The jute and tea industries, which were facing serious difficulties, are now again doing well.

My Government attach special importance to the development of cottage industries. I regret, however, that progress in this respect has not been very satisfactory. It is hoped that the efforts of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board as well as the All-India Handloom Board and the All-India Handicrafts Board will yield substantial results in the near future.

Satisfactory progress has been made in the great river valley schemes and some of the projects have already been completed and are yielding results. Five new projects, namely, the Kosi, the Koyna, the Krishna, the Rihand and the Chambal, have been included in the Five-Year Plan. Steps are being taken to expedite certain preliminary arrangements in regard to them, and, in the case of Kosi, plans are being made to have discussions with the Government of Nepal, with a view to starting work on these new projects during the next financial year.

The Air Services of India have now been reorganised and two State Corporations, one dealing with internal airlines and the other with external services, have been formed. It is proposed to extend the external services to the Far East.

In the course of the past year, two landmarks have been celebrated, namely, the centenaries of the beginning of the Railway system and the Telegraphs in India. There has been steady progress on the railways and special attention is being paid to the manufacture of locomotives and rolling stock. Some projects of rail construction will be taken up shortly. Postal and telegraph facilities have expanded, especially in the rural and backward areas.

My Government attach importance to the problem of housing. A total expenditure of Rs. 72 crores has been incurred on housing for displaced persons since the Partition and loans and subsidies have been given for the construction of houses for industrial workers. With a view to encouraging the building of inexpensive and attractive houses, an International Exhibition on Low Cost Housing was recently held and it has attracted much attention.

A statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year 1954-55 will be laid before you.

After the last session of Parliament, it became necessary to promulgate seven Ordinances. Of these, two deal with matters in respect of which Bills are pending before you. You will be asked to consider and pass such of these as require permanent legislation.

There are 28 Bills pending before you. Some of these have been considered by Select Committees; some others, which are still under the consideration of the Select Committees, will be brought before you with their recommendations. Among these are the Bills dealing with reform of the Hindu Law to which my Government attach considerable importance. There are other legislative measures relating to matters of general public interest, which will be brought before

you during the course of this session. My Government are anxious to proceed with certain reforms relating to judicial procedure with a view to expediting these processes and lessening the expenditure involved in them.

Early this month, a tragedy took place at the Kumbh Mela in Allahabad where a vast and unprecedented gathering of pilgrims had collected. The Uttar Pradesh Government had taken great pains to make satisfactory arrangements for this great concourse of human beings. But on the Amavas day an unfortunate mishap occurred, as a result of which a large number of persons were crushed to death by the uncontrollable passage of others over them. This grievous tragedy, which marred a happy occasion, has brought sorrow to many and, on your behalf and mine, I extend deep sympathy to the relatives of those who have suffered.

The new year begins with hope and fear evenly balanced. There is promise of achievement and of progress towards peace. There is also apprehension at the trials we and the rest of the world might have to face. In this crisis of human destiny, we can serve both our own country and the larger cause of the world only by adhering to the principles that have guided us in the past and by remembering the message of peace, tolerance and self-reliance of the Father of the Nation. I trust that that message will guide you in your deliberations.

ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT

21 February, 1955

I am addressing you again after a full year. This past year has been, I am glad to say, one of considerable achievement for our country, both in the domestic and international spheres. Parliament and our people have justification to view their labours with some satisfaction. There is no reason, however, for complacency. We have to face difficult problems in our own country and the threat of war again darkens the future of humanity.

I am happy to say that our relations with all other countries continue to be friendly and there has been growing understanding and co-operation with many of them. We have had distinguished leaders of many countries visiting India. During the past year, we have had visits from the Prime Ministers of Canada, Indonesia, China and Ceylon. We have also welcomed in India the President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Governor-General of Pakistan. Our Vice-President has carried the message of our goodwill to the United States, Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Brazil, Uruguay and Italy. My Prime Minister paid friendly visits to China, Burma, Indonesia, the States of Indo-China and Egypt. He has recently attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London where matters of vital concern to the peace of the world were discussed in a frank and friendly manner.

I should like to mention especially the agreement between China and India in regard to Tibet. This agreement confirmed the friendship between these two great countries, which is so important for the peace of Asia and the world. In this agreement certain principles were laid down which are of even wider application and which have been recognised as such by many other countries. These five principles, which are sometimes referred to as the Panchsheel are mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. I commend these principles to you and earnestly trust that they will increasingly form the basis of international relations, thus ensuring peace and security all over the world.

During this past year, another development of importance took place at the instance of the Prime Minister of Ceylon. This was the meeting of the Prime Ministers of Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Pakistan and India at Colombo. Later, a similar meeting was held at Bogor in Indonesia. These meetings gave organised expression to the views and urges of these countries, which are a large part of Asia, and undoubtedly served the cause of peace. As a result of these meetings, it is now proposed to hold a conference in Indonesia consisting of representatives of the independent nations of Asia and Africa. This conference marks another stage in the development of the countries of these two great continents and in their emergence in the sphere of world affairs. It will, I am sure, bring greater understanding and co-operation among them and further the cause of world peace.

An outstanding event of the past year, and indeed ever since the second world war ended, was the Geneva Conference which brought an end to the war in Indo-China and laid the basis for a peaceful solution of the problems of the States of Indo-China. The Geneva Conference dealt with problems of great importance and difficulty but the efforts of the Powers concerned to find a peaceful solution met with success. That conference thus set an example, which I hope will be followed in future, for the settlement of other international disputes and conflicts.

As a result of the Geneva Conference, India has accepted heavy responsibilities in the three international Commissions appointed for Indo-China. These Commissions, under India's chairmanship, have already done good work in implementing the decisions reached at Geneva and deserve praise.

Unfortunately, other conflicts still continue, endangering the peace of the world. Among these, the most serious at the present moment is that relating to the Far East and, more particularly, to Formosa and the off-shore islands of China. My Government recognise only one government of China, that is, the People's Republic, and consider that the claims of this Republic are justified. I earnestly hope, however, that these difficult problems will be solved peacefully and by negotiation.

There is, indeed, no other way left for the solution of international disputes, if sanity is to prevail. Nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons have been developed to such an extent that a war in which these are used would bring ruin to the world. No problems can be solved, no objective achieved, by this self-destruction of humanity. A hydrogen bomb not only destroys every living thing utterly within a large radius but also produces intense radio activity which will carry destruction to a much larger area. There is no defence against such weapons. Some eminent soldiers of different countries have stated categorically that a major war today, in which these weapons are used, has become unthinkable. I earnestly hope that the fearful nature of these weapons will lead not only to the total banning of their production but also to the realisation that war itself should be abolished as a means of settling any problem.

While atomic energy brings this threat of utter destruction to the world, it also gives a message of hope, provided it is used for peaceful purposes. Atomic energy provides the vast power necessary to raise the standard of living of the population of the entire world. It is of special importance for the development of the under-

developed countries. We must welcome, therefore, that the United Nations has decided to call a scientific conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy at Geneva. This conference will not only explore the possibilities of atomic power but will also consider its biological, medical and agricultural aspects.

Another example of a peaceful negotiated settlement of a difficult problem is the *de facto* transfer to the Indian Union of the French possessions in India. We are happy to welcome the citizens of these territories. I would like to express my appreciation of the statesmanship of the French Government in dealing with this problem. I hope that the problem of the Portuguese possessions in India will also be settled before long in a peaceful way.

The economic situation in the country has shown continued and marked improvement. Many of the targets laid down under the Five-Year Plan were exceeded even in three years. The output of foodgrains in 1953-54 exceeded the Five-Year Plan target by about 4.4 million tons. The index of agricultural production which was 96 in 1950-51 rose to 114 in 1953-54. The index of industrial production which stood at 135 in 1953, the highest figure since independence, increased to 144 in 1954. This index has increased at an average rate of ten per cent per annum during the last four years.

As a result of the improvement in production, many of the controls have been removed. The more abundant supply position of foodgrains created a tendency to depress prices unduly in certain surplus pockets. To prevent prices from falling to unremunerative levels, it has been decided to purchase certain foodgrains at specified prices.

My Government have decided to acquire effective control over the Imperial Bank of India in order, more especially, to afford increasing banking facilities in rural and under-developed areas. The establishment of the Indian Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation is expected to prove of great benefit to the private sector of our industry.

Considerable progress has been made in the production of fertilizers at Sindri. The Hindustan Shipyard at Visakhapatnam delivered two eight-thousand-ton ships and launched another seven-thousand-ton ship in the course of the year. The Telephone Cable Factory at Rupnarainpur in West Bengal has gone into production. It has been designed to meet in full the requirements of the Posts and Telegraphs Department. The Penicillin Factory at Pimpri and the D.D.T. Factory at Delhi are about to commence production and

it is proposed to establish another D.D.T. plant to meet the requirements of the Anti-Malaria Campaign.

My Government attach great importance to increasing the iron and steel production of the country. With this end in view, two new steel plants, to be owned by the State, have already been decided upon. One is to be established at Rourekela. The other plant will be set up in the Bhilai region of Madhya Pradesh. A preliminary agreement, in regard to the latter, has been arrived at with the Government of the U.S.S.R.

My Government attach great importance, both from the point of view of production and of giving employment, to the growth of cottage and small-scale industries. With a view to introducing modern techniques in these industries, four regional institutes of technology are being established.

The great river valley schemes have shown considerable progress and a number of new projects are being started. In particular, I should like to draw attention to the public co-operation we are receiving in many of these projects. I would especially like to mention the great public response in respect of the Kosi project.

The Community Projects and the National Extension Service programme have already covered, in a little more than two years since its inauguration in October 1952, about one-fifth of the rural population of India. At present, about 88,000 villages are being served by this programme which has achieved substantial results in agriculture and animal husbandry, public health, communications, education and irrigation. It is proposed to cover, by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, the entire country by the National Extension Service. The most remarkable feature of this programme is the response and enthusiasm of the people who are beginning to acquire a new faith in themselves and the habit of working together on joint programmes for common good.

There has been steady improvement in the rate of development and of expenditure under the Five-Year Plan, both at the Centre and in the States. Special measures have been taken for permanent improvement in areas affected by scarcity, in rural and urban water-supply schemes and in the electrification of rural areas and small towns.

The preparation of the Second Five-Year Plan has now begun. It is expected that this Plan will be a more far-reaching one than the First Plan, and that it will lay greater emphasis on the establishment of capital goods industries, on the provision of greater employment and on a reorientation of the system of education.

A situation having arisen in the Andhra State in which the government of the State could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, I have taken necessary action by proclamation in accordance with Article 356 of the Constitution. Elections are now being held in the State, and it is hoped that normal constitutional machinery will be restored before long.

You will have to consider the Constitution Fourth Amendment Bill. These amendments have become necessary in order to further economic and social progress and to give effect to the Directive Principles of State Policy as embodied in the Constitution.

A statement of estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year 1955-56 will be laid before you.

Since the last session of Parliament, it became necessary to promulgate one ordinance. A bill dealing with this ordinance will be placed before you. There are also a considerable number of other bills pending, some of which have been considered by Select Committees.

The progress we have made during the past year has produced in our people self-reliance and hope for the future. That is the surest foundation on which we can build. It is for you, Members of Parliament, to give shape and form to this hope and to advance the country to its cherished goal of a Welfare State and a society conforming to the socialist pattern.

ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT

15 February, 1956

I am happy to address you once again and welcome you to the new session of Parliament. The past year has been one of considerable endeavour and achievement for us, both in the domestic and the international spheres. Our people and Parliament may, with reason, look upon them and their own labours with satisfaction and cautious optimism. There have been, however, events at home and abroad, and certain developments which must cause us apprehension.

These we must meet with courage, patience and redoubled efforts and remind ourselves that there is room neither for complacency nor for despair.

Our relations with foreign countries continue to be friendly. During the year, greater understanding and co-operation have developed with many of them, and there is also increasing appreciation of the approach that we strive to pursue. We have had distinguished visitors from many countries visiting us, including many heads of States and Governments, Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers, and we have been happy to welcome them in our midst. My Prime Minister paid official and goodwill visits to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria, Yugoslavia, Italy and Egypt.

We were deeply grieved at the death of His Majesty King Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah of Nepal, in whom our country has lost a good friend and Nepal an enlightened and courageous king. The recent visit of His Majesty King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah and his gracious consort has further cemented the warm and friendly relations between the Indian and Nepalese peoples. I wish His Majesty a progressive and prosperous reign.

With Pakistan, negotiations to renew rail traffic between India and West Pakistan and to liberalise the Indo-Pakistan visa system have been successfully concluded, while negotiations in regard to the canal water dispute are being continued. Agreement has also been reached in regard to moveable property of evacuees.

The exodus of population from East Pakistan into India has lately increased in numbers and causes us much concern. This is a human problem of great magnitude, with tragic significance to large numbers of people. The State of West Bengal, already heavily burdened, has to shoulder this additional burden. My Government will continue to hope that the Pakistan Government will take appropriate measure to alleviate the circumstances which lead to this exodus.

My Government regret that, in spite of our peaceful approach to the solution of the problem of the Portuguese colonies in India, the Portuguese Government have made no response and persist in their method of colonialism, suppression and terrorism. My Government deeply regret the reference made by the Secretary of State of the United States to the Portuguese conquests abroad as 'provinces' of Portugal and the further implication that they are an integral part of the country of Portugal itself.

The Conference of the countries of Asia and Africa at Bandung, at which twenty-nine countries were represented, has been hailed not

only as an outstanding event in Asia, but is also recognised as one of world importance. The Bandung Declaration, which is a historic document and to which the world has paid much attention, commits the participating countries to the outlook and policy of peaceful approach for the solution of all problems and for the furtherance of world peace and co-operation.

In the continent of Africa, my Government hope that self-government and independence will soon be an established fact in the Gold Coast and that that country will be able to become an equal partner both in the Commonwealth and the United Nations. Somewhat similar developments are taking place in some other parts of West Africa, and my Government hope that this progress will gather momentum and that the example will spread to the other parts of Africa now under colonial rule. We welcome also similar developments in Malaya.

We welcome the emergence of the Sudan as a free and independent Republic and we pay tribute to the notable and historic part played both by Britain and Egypt in this development. My Government have established diplomatic relations with the Republic of the Sudan. We have also concluded a treaty of friendship with Egypt.

My Government have declared their sympathy with the struggle of peoples who strive for their liberation from colonial rule and, more particularly, in respect of the peoples of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. It is the firm belief of my Government that in a peaceful approach and negotiations for reaching agreed settlements is alone to be found the right and hopeful way for the solution of these problems.

The recent session of the United Nations has been notable for breaking the deadlock in regard to the greater universality of its membership. Sixteen new nations have been admitted. We are particularly happy that among these are our close neighbours, Nepal and Ceylon, as well as Cambodia, Laos, Libya and Jordan. It is a matter of deep regret, however, that Japan and Mongolia still await entry into that organisation. My Government will use their best endeavours to assist in resolving this problem, and also look forward to the admission of the Sudan in the near future.

My Government regret that the progress achieved as a result of the efforts of last year to bring about negotiations and to resolve differences between the United States and China has not made much headway, and observe with concern that the alternative to a negotiated settlement is fraught with grave possibilities. My Government

will continue to use their best endeavours to advance the cause of peaceful negotiations.

In Indo-China, the work of the International Commission in regard to supervision and control has been reasonably satisfactory, despite certain incidents. The political solutions agreed to at Geneva by the great Powers, as well as the parties concerned in Indo-China itself, however, stand challenged in respect of Vietnam and have encountered serious difficulties in Laos. The Commission is confronted with this problem even in its tasks of supervision and control. My Government hope that the parties concerned and the two co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference as well as the other powers involved will use their best efforts not merely to maintain the armistice, but to further real political settlements which will contribute to the welfare of those countries and the stability of Asia and remove the menace of conflict, the bounds of which it is not easy to foresee.

In the Far East and Asia generally, the continued exclusion of China from the United Nations and the trade and other embargoes and discriminations imposed against her, make for instability and conflict. My Government will try their utmost, in common with like-minded governments, both at the United Nations and outside, to help to remedy this situation which continues to be perhaps the gravest threat to world peace.

The world situation, as a whole, has shown considerable improvement during the year, as a result of various developments and conferences and notably the Conference of the heads of four Governments at Geneva. We regret that this progress has not been continued and there has been some deterioration. No actual progress has been made in respect of disarmament or the allaying of the hostilities and fears of the cold war. Our own country continues to have friendly relations with all countries, but this deterioration in the world situation has had adverse results in the development of peaceful relations and co-operation in our part of the world also.

More particularly, the policy of military pacts, based upon balance of power and mutual suspicion and fear, has led to deterioration in Western Asia, created division in the Arab world and resulted in the building up of armaments in Western Asia. This causes us concern even on our near frontiers. We deeply regret the conclusion of the Baghdad Pact as we did that of the SEATO.

The period of our first Five-Year Plan will soon come to an end and my Government have been actively engaged in preparing

the second Five-Year Plan. The success of the first Plan has produced confidence in our people and has laid the foundations for a more rapid growth of the national economy. The targets of the first Plan have been in many cases exceeded and the national income has risen by 18 per cent. Industrial production has increased by 43 per cent and agricultural production by 15 per cent. It is particularly satisfactory that the production of foodgrains has increased by about 20 per cent., even though there have been disastrous floods in North India and cyclones caused havoc in the south of India. I should like to pay a tribute to the work done by Government, and even more so by the people themselves, in repairing the damage caused by these calamities.

Our objective is to establish a socialist pattern of society and, more particularly, to increase the country's productive potential in a way that will make possible progressively faster development. The question of providing more employment is of vital importance. Special stress has been laid on enlarging the public sector and, more especially on developing basic and machine-making industries. Three new major iron and steel plants and a plant for the manufacture of heavy electrical machinery have been decided upon. It is proposed to carry out mineral surveys on an extensive scale so as to discover and exploit the potential resources of the country. With a view to creating employment as well as the production of many types of consumer goods, reliance will be placed on labour-intensive methods of production and, more particularly, village and cottage industries. The Community Projects and the National Extension Service have already produced revolutionary changes in many of our rural areas. These will be continued and expanded and, it is hoped, that by the end of the second Plan period, they will cover nearly the whole of our rural area.

The second Plan is more ambitious than the first Five-Year Plan and involves a far greater effort on the part of our people. We have a long way to go before we reach our objective of a socialist pattern of society and our national income is raised to an adequate level and there is equal opportunity for all. But we are well set on the road to progress. The basic criterion for determining our lines of advance must always be social gain and the progressive removal of inequalities. We have arrived at one stage of our journey and we are now going to embark upon another and more fateful one. The progress we have made during the past year gives us satisfaction and a sense of self-reliance and hope for the future.

But our capacity to progress as well as to make any useful contribution to world peace and co-operation depends upon our economic strength and our unity. It depends on our sense of nationhood and our devotion to the basic ideals and principles which were laid down for us by the Father of the Nation. Without that indomitable sense of national unity and that spirit of dedication to the common cause, which enabled us to achieve independence, we can neither attain progress nor serve the larger causes of the world.

The targets of the second Five-Year Plan include new irrigation of 21 million acres, additional 10 million tons of foodgrains, an increase in power generation by 3.4 million kilowatts, an increase in the production of coal by 23 million tons so as to reach the target of 60 million tons in 1960, an increase by 3.3 million tons of finished steel, 5.2 million tons of cement, and an additional 1.7 million tons of fertilizers. It is expected that as a result of the new schemes, additional employment will be provided for 10 million persons in industry and agriculture.

Recent events in some parts of India have caused me great distress, as they must have pained all of you also. In our legitimate love of our languages some of us have forgotten for the moment that this great land is our common heritage and our common motherland. The reorganisation of States is an important matter and we must apply all our wisdom and tolerance to it; but in the larger perspective of India and of India's future, it is a small matter what administrative boundaries we prescribe for a State. Above all, there can be no progress for our country if we do not adhere to non-violence and tolerance and to the basic integrity which makes a people great. We have witnessed, in recent years, great achievements by our people. We have also witnessed some of our old failings still coming in our way and encouraging the spirit of separateness and intolerance. Many a time in the past, we have had to face and have overcome severe crises, and again we are on trial as a nation and as a people. We shall succeed only by adherence to our old principles and ideals. I earnestly trust that you will consider these matters in a spirit of broad tolerance, always keeping in view the greater good of this great country of ours which we cherish and wish to serve. I hope also that, whatever Parliament, in its wisdom, decides will be willingly accepted by all our people.

As you are aware, the old Imperial Bank of India has been converted into a State Bank and my Government, after careful consideration, have decided to nationalise the life insurance business.

As a preliminary step and in order to safeguard the interests of the policyholders during the interim period, an Ordinance was issued last month vesting in the Central Government the management of life insurance business. A Bill will soon be placed before Parliament to convert this Ordinance into an Act. I have no doubt that this step will prove to be in the interests of the public as well as of insurance and will be a step towards the socialist ideal we have before us.

My Government attach importance to the reorganisation of rural economy and to the development of cooperatives, both in agriculture and in small-scale industries. Legislation for the purpose of organising agricultural marketing, processing, warehousing and production through cooperatives will be introduced in Parliament.

My Government will introduce a Bill in regard to the reorganisation of States. There are a number of Bills pending before Parliament, some of which have been considered by Select Committees. There will be legislation to amend the lists of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the light of the recommendations of the Backward Classes Commission and their examination by my Government. Legislative proposals in regard to the levy of sales-tax on inter-State transactions and on essential goods, as recommended by the Taxation Enquiry Commission, will also be placed before Parliament.

These Ordinances, which have been promulgated since the last session of Parliament, will be placed before Parliament. These are :—

- (1) The Representation of the People (Amendment) Ordinance, 1955 ;
- (2) The Life Insurance (Emergency Provisions) Ordinance, 1956 ; and
- (3) The Sales-Tax Laws Validation Ordinance, 1956.

A statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year 1956-57 will be laid before you.

We shall celebrate this year a very significant event. Two thousand five hundred years ago, one of the greatest sons of India, the Buddha, attained *parinirvana*, leaving a deathless memory and an eternal message. That living message is with us still in all its truth and vitality. At no time in the history of the world was it needed more than now when we are confronted by the terrible threat of the atomic and hydrogen bombs. May this message of tolerance and compassion of the Buddha be with you in your labours.

REPUBLIC DAY BROADCAST

25 January, 1953

On the eve of the Third Anniversary of our Republic, I extend my warmest greetings and good wishes to you all.

It is well to recall that we were faced at the very dawn of our freedom by problems which required the concentration of all our energies for their solution. We have not only warded off the dangers that appeared to many to be a historic inevitability but have also forged the institutions and instruments of a modern State. If we look back today we see how stage by stage this task has been accomplished. We had at first to devote ourselves to defeat the forces of political disintegration and social disorder. You are aware how our late leader, Sardar Patel, successfully accomplished the task of integrating what were called the Indian States within the first two years of our free existence. Simultaneously we filled the vacuum that had arisen in the administration, the army and the other branches of the State system.

Thus we completed the first stage of our journey in the solution of the problems inherent in the transformation of an alien into a national State. In the next stage of our journey we forged the institutions of democracy. It is now an event of history how the Constituent Assembly constituted our land and people into a sovereign democratic State in which political power, economic opportunities and cultural conquests were to be equally shared by every individual and class without any discrimination of any kind whatsoever. The peaceful nature of the process with which such a constitution was adopted in our land should not make any of us miss its great and historic significance. In the history of mankind and nations hardly a parallel can be found where the State power and economic and cultural opportunities were made equally available to all individuals, classes, creeds and sexes without prolonged struggle, bitterness and bloodshed and indeed with eager willingness as has been done in our land. The Constituent Assembly compressed that exciting history into a brief and peaceful span of our national life.

The third stage of our journey began with our entering upon the first General Elections under the Constitution. At this time last year you, the people of India, were making choice of the programme which you desired your Government to follow and the persons who were to implement the programme of your choice. These elections were, as I had said even before, a test of our political sagacity, administrative capacity and devotion to democratic processes. The vastness of the number of voters on the basis of adult franchise and the extent of the organisation required to carry out the elections were indeed stupendous and certainly unprecedented in the history of democratic elections. Restraint in election propaganda, political sagacity on the part of electors and, above all, freedom to vote as one desired were required and were forthcoming in abundant measure. In this crucial test I may say in all humility we have come out quite successful.

Besides this we also have successfully established the legal basis and means for carrying through a far-reaching revolution in the agrarian system of our country. In almost all parts of the country the Zamindari and Jagirdari systems have been or are being abolished by law. The different State Governments have been busy taking steps to acquire the Zamindaris and it is hoped that in the near future India will have been completely freed from these relics of feudalism.

But this agrarian revolution could not be fully fruitful unless you, our peasants, were provided also with the benefits of modern sciences, particularly those relating to agriculture and health. With a view to carrying to your doors the advances of science and technique, 55 Community Projects were launched during the last year on the anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's birthday. Every new measure takes some time to make its appeal to the popular mind and it is to be hoped that our people have begun to appreciate their significance and render all the co-operation and help expected of them. I am quite confident that as time passes and as our field workers gather experience, they will be able to serve you, our village people, with ever-increasing success. Thus, a silent and peaceful revolution is passing over the countryside and I hope that when it is completed, it will have beneficially transformed the life of our people to no less a degree than any other revolution ever did in any part of the world and opened out a way for countrywide extension of such schemes.

There has been silent but steady progress in the expansion and improvement of our transport, industrial and irrigational systems

during the last year. Such inaccessible parts as Kutch have now been connected to the main Railway system of our country. Steady improvement continues to be made in the position of locomotives and rolling stock not only by imports from abroad but also by their manufacture within the country itself. More amenities have been provided for passengers of smaller means. Similarly, our industrial production has been growing. The production of sugar, cloth, cement and steel has increased and we have succeeded in making larger quantities of these available for the consumption of the people. In the matter of production of jute and cotton also we have made a great headway towards self-sufficiency.

Nature has been unkind to us and there have been successive failures of monsoon in important tracts of our land and the crops have dried up for want of water. Indeed this failure of rains has even affected the level of sub-soil water in these tracts and people there had difficulty of even obtaining drinking water. Besides, in several places floods and cyclones have caused quite a great damage to crops and property. All these natural calamities have compelled us to import food from other countries at prices not wholly of our choice. During the year under review, however, on the whole the position has eased considerably and we have been able to relax controls in many places without any public detriment and to the great satisfaction of the people at large. We also hope that imports of foodgrains in the year just commencing will be on a much smaller scale than last year.

The solution of the problem of rehabilitation of refugees has also made considerable headway. The examination of the claims of the refugees from West Pakistan is nearing completion and the evaluation of the property in the evacuee pool is also being proceeded with. We have been trying to negotiate with Pakistan about the settlement of evacuee property but unfortunately all our efforts in this direction have not been fruitful so far. But the same measure of progress cannot be claimed about the rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan. The idea of introduction of the passport system between India and Pakistan at the latter's instance also led to an increased exodus of refugees from East Pakistan and so the problem on that side has somewhat increased in dimensions. But we are determined to spare no efforts for their relief and rehabilitation.

True to our interests and traditions we kept up our efforts for international peace during the last year as well. We tried to find a *via media* on the Korean question, but unfortunately our effort has

not been attended with success so far. We do believe that the world has reached a stage in its economic and cultural development where differences between nations can and should be solved by peaceful negotiation and where war would prove disastrous to all, and our humble efforts in that behalf are being continued.

It is with this belief in peace and goodwill to other peoples that we have kept ourselves aloof from all military alignments with any other nation or bloc of nations. Naturally we may not appreciate any move which may have the effect of drawing the danger of war nearer to this sub-continent.

It is really a matter of regret to us that our differences with Pakistan have not yet been settled and that the problem of Kashmir still hangs fire.

Thus, the year that has rolled by has witnessed steady progress in all spheres of our national life. In fact, it may be said that it has witnessed the close of the post-partition era and we are now on the threshold of a new era of national reconstruction and regeneration. The symbol of this future is our Five-Year Plan which has been finalized by the Planning Commission and approved by our Parliament. It is a bold attempt to make the most economic use of our national and manpower resources to overcome the economic lag in our life which the recent past has bequeathed to us.

I am sure that everyone of you feels that the paramount necessity of ours is the immediate increase in our national income. This can be done only if we sink our differences, ideological and regional, and devote ourselves whole-heartedly and enthusiastically to this supreme task. Its realisation would tax all our resources and energies and we have not a moment to lose. It may well be that some of you may not be satisfied with the targets fixed by the Plan or may have honest differences about the methods proposed. In a democratic society such differences about approach and objectives of any policy or plan would always be there. But these differences do not and should not imply that any of us should withhold his or her co-operation from the implementation of a policy or plan accepted by a vast majority of the chosen representatives of our people.

Our future and fate depend on how we pull together for the realisation of all our objectives. We have to answer the call that is made on us. We can and should do so in a spirit of utter dedication to the service of India and humanity. Let me hope that tomorrow you will re-dedicate yourselves to this great mission and thus fulfil your lives and destiny. May God bless you all.

REPUBLIC DAY BROADCAST

25 January, 1954

Today we are completing four years of the life of our Republic. On the eve of its anniversary, I send my greetings and best wishes to all my countrymen. During the last four years we have been celebrating this occasion appropriately by holding public meetings and dedicating ourselves to the service of the nation. I feel that this is also a fitting occasion for looking back and recapitulating past events with a view to assessing our efforts and seeing how far we have moved towards our cherished goal of making the common people inhabiting this country happier. The object is not to criticise any one but merely to know where exactly we stand today, because this knowledge is bound to be of help to us in the direction of our future efforts.

Let us take first of all the food situation. It is indeed gratifying that during the year which has gone by, we have made distinct improvement in the production of food. Our efforts, spread over the past several years, for growing more food and for bringing more and more land under the plough have at long last started bearing fruit. The production of nearly every foodstuff has gone up, as a result of which Government were able to effect a substantial reduction in the imports of foodgrains from overseas. Decontrol of coarse foodgrains recently ordered by Government is a proof of the present easier situation and of the increase in production. It is probable that as a result of decontrol of coarse foodgrains, their prices may fluctuate for some time, but I am sure before long they will have found their own level and the commodity market will stabilize.

Our first Five-Year Plan for the all-round development and progress of the country is proceeding apace. Under this Plan, work on the river valley projects and other schemes of vast magnitude is in progress. One of these projects, known as Kakrapar Dam Project in Gujarat, was completed a few months ago. It is hoped that more than six lakh acres of land will be irrigated with the water made available by the construction of this dam. Sufficient progress has been made in respect of the Tungabhadra Project as well and the dam for storing the water of the river is already completed. Similarly, the Mayurakshi Project for Bengal, the Damodar Valley Project for Bihar and Bengal, the Bhakra-Nangal Project for the

Punjab, PEPSU, etc., and the Hirakud Project for Orissa—all of these may be said to be in an advanced stage of execution. In fact, the Mayurakshi Project has already started giving its benefits to the region concerned. Another two or three similar projects which were not included originally in the Five-Year Plan are also under Government's active consideration. Principal among them is the Kosi River Project.

During the year under review, we have had to face calamitous floods and their after-effects. Widespread damage was caused by floods in Assam, Andhra and particularly in Bihar. Besides providing the maximum possible relief to the affected areas, Government are anxious to find a permanent solution of this recurring problem. It is only by constructing dams and controlling the waters of these rivers which are flooded every year and by adopting measures for improving drainage that this problem can be solved. Plans are being formulated for this purpose. When they are taken in hand and implemented, it is hoped that not only would floods be averted but the stored waters would also be utilized for the purpose of irrigation.

Whatever little we have been able to achieve so far through the Five-Year Plan gives us great hope for the future. When the Plan is fully implemented, there will be an all-round increase in production. In addition to the great increase in acreage under irrigation a good deal of power will also be available which will not only break the monotony of our villagers, but also increase the potentialities for large as also small industries. While Government are making an all-out effort to implement this Plan at the cost of hundreds of crores of rupees, it is the bounden duty of every Indian, high or low, to extend his or her full co-operation in the accomplishment of this great task.

It will not be out of place to mention here the Community Project Scheme on which work is going on in the countryside. This scheme was started in October, 1952, in 55 selected rural centres. Luckily, I had the opportunity of visiting a few of these centres last March and April. I was very happy to observe in these centres that the project had stirred the imagination of the village folk and roused their enthusiasm. They have been able to do a good deal of solid work. Under the Community Project Scheme people have voluntarily constructed link roads, dug wells for the procurement of drinking water, cleaned tanks and village ponds, improved the production of fish, increased the production of foodgrains by sowing seeds of improved quality and by using manure, opened schools for

children's education and started hospitals for the sick. These small projects have come quite handy to the villagers who have evinced keen interest in them, particularly because they are able to see the outcome of their efforts so quickly. As a result of this scheme, the whole atmosphere in our villages has become surcharged with constructive activity. To extend the scope of this useful work, Government have decided to start the Community Project Scheme in another 55 centres.

The Government of India have also set up a Board for encouraging cottage industries, specially the Khadi industry. People interested in cottage industries and having sufficient experience and knowledge of their working have been appointed to this Board. Government have also agreed to subsidise these industries. It is hoped that as a result of this step, cottage industries will receive a great impetus.

I would like to mention here the "Bhoomidan" movement started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. Although the Government have no direct connection with this movement, yet its great potentialities in solving the problem of equitable distribution of land and effecting a revolutionary change in the attitude of the people towards it cannot but interest every one. For remedying the present maldistribution of land among cultivators, it is altogether a novel move, a move which is perfectly in keeping with the traditions of this country and the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi.

While reviewing the events of the past year, we cannot forget the creation of a separate Andhra State. The people of Andhra had been agitating for it for many years past. Now that this demand has been met, let me hope our Andhra brothers will seize the opportunity to make a united effort for ameliorating the condition of the people of their newly-created State. The demand for redistribution and reorganisation of States has been insistent for some time. The Government have announced the appointment of a high-powered Commission to go into this question. Let me hope that as a result of the efforts of this Commission a satisfactory solution will have been found of all the controversial issues, consistent with the unity, solidarity and safety of India.

The Government set up another Commission last year for inquiring into and suggesting ways and means of improving the conditions of what are called backward people, so as to bring them into line with other people and for preparing a comprehensive list of such people. It is in the interest of all of us that every national of this country should have equal opportunity to

develop and progress. This is enjoined not only by our Constitution but also by our age-long tradition. Our plans for reconstruction should therefore be so broad-based as to benefit each and every citizen of this Republic.

I am glad that displaced persons in our country have now started getting compensation in lieu of property left by them in Pakistan. It is a huge undertaking. Nevertheless, Government have agreed to provide compensation to the best of its resources.

As before, this year also our country had a prominent role to play in international affairs. Our efforts to end the war in Korea have been in keeping with the Indian policy of helping attainment of peace and we are naturally happy that our efforts in that direction have been appreciated by many a foreign nation. When the hostilities in Korea came to an end as a result of the cease-fire agreement, we were asked to be a member of the Neutral Nations Commission to help in the solution of the question of prisoners of war, and to take charge of prisoners, pending repatriation. Howsoever arduous or thankless the task was, we undertook to do it and have tried to discharge this duty to the best of our ability. We look upon it as a unique opportunity for our armed forces to have been given such an assignment in a foreign land in the interest of peace and international goodwill. The election of Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit as President of the General Assembly of the U.N.O. is also a matter of legitimate pride for India and the women of the world, since she is the first woman to be called upon to hold that high office.

Notwithstanding all this, we cannot afford to be complacent or rest on our oars. There is so much which still remains to be done for the well-being of our people. We are pledged to establish a Welfare State in India. It is the duty of such a government to raise the standard of living of the people in its charge and to meet their basic needs. To achieve this is not easy, and necessarily takes time. Now-a-days we hear about the problem of unemployment, specially among the educated classes in towns. The Government are fully conscious of it and are adopting measures to tackle it. Our country is so big that no Government with the best of intentions can grapple with this problem successfully unless the people also lend their willing support and co-operation to its policies.

If India gets a good name at home or in the comity of nations, it will ultimately redound to the credit of our people. It is the people who are the backbone of a nation. A nation acquires the

capacity to tide over difficulties from the character and high-mindedness of its people. You, the people of India, are truly the builders of the new India that is to be. Its future will depend on your determination, sacrifice and devotion. I fervently hope that you will ever strive to make India a happy and prosperous country.

REPUBLIC DAY BROADCAST

25 January, 1955

I send my greetings and best wishes to all my countrymen on the Fifth Anniversary of our Republic, which we are going to celebrate tomorrow. It is for us a solemn occasion when we must look back in a spirit of thanksgiving and humility while viewing our success or achievement, and in a spirit of forbearance and resolve in case of failures or shortcomings. This year this day has a significance of its own. It was on this day just 25 years ago when to symbolise implementation of the nation's resolve to win freedom, Independence Day was for the first time celebrated all over the country—in cities and towns no less than in villages and hamlets. Since then we have succeeded not only in securing national freedom and framing and promulgating our Constitution, but also in establishing a Sovereign Democratic Republic. It is thus an occasion on which, besides being happy and joyous, we must do a bit of introspection and judge ourselves without any mental reservations.

Let us carry our thoughts back to the day when we declared our country a Republic. We have undoubtedly made remarkable progress with our various development plans. But have we freed all our people from poverty, want and misery? We have met with a measure of success in controlling the forces of nature and taming them for the betterment of our people's lot. But we cannot forget that devastating floods visited parts of India a few months ago, disrupting communications and inflicting heavy damage on the

people of those areas. We have certainly made headway with our plans for mass literacy and eradication of disease, though ignorance and ill-health still stalk many parts and sections of the country. About our determination to forge ahead with our schemes for the welfare of our people, there can be no manner of doubt. Nor need we be dissatisfied with the nation's efforts to realise them. If, nevertheless, the results to date are not as startling as the schemes envisage, it is only because the malady is in the process of being treated. It takes time to build up a nation. After all, it is only the Fifth Anniversary of our Republic, and five years are but a short period in the history of an ancient people like us.

Let us now briefly review the principal events of the year which is closing today, and see how we have fared in respect of our schemes and plans of development.

If I were asked to sum up the events of the outgoing year in a sentence, I should like to say that in accordance with the Directive Principles laid down in our Constitution, we have started mobilising the resources of the country in a manner which if not self-evident, is at least indicative that the foundations of a Welfare State are being laid. The resolve that we expressed and the claims which we made in past years, have now begun to take shape, so that it is not difficult now to foresee whither the nation is going and how we shall stand, say, ten or fifteen years hence.

Work has continued apace on the big river valley projects, one of which, the Bhakra-Nangal Project, has already started giving valuable water and electric energy to parts of the Punjab, PEPSU and Rajasthan. The Damodar Valley Corporation Project started supplying electricity some time ago, and like the Hirakud and the Chambal and other big projects, it has shown great progress in various directions. Now that the first phase of the Bhakra-Nangal Project is completed, it is becoming clear what far-reaching changes these huge undertakings will bring about on their completion. The partial implementation of one or more of these projects has served to give us an idea of the extent to which our resources will be developed and the country's rural economy revolutionised by them.

At long last the Kosi, the River of Sorrow, which this year too lived up to its evil reputation, is going to be tamed out of its turbulence and vagaries. We have already gone beyond the blueprint

stage and taken in hand the work in right earnest. It is hoped that large-scale voluntary help of the people of the area will be available and utilized in the execution of this project. When this experiment succeeds, we shall have learnt a new lesson in the handling of big projects and the use of India's vast manpower resources.

Rapid strides in the field of industrialisation, further stepping up of production and a rise in the per capita income of the country have been some of the salient features of the year under reference. Along with industrialisation, efforts have been and are being made to balance production and employment through giving proper encouragement to cottage and small-scale industries. It is now recognised on all hands that the tide of ever growing unemployment has to be stemmed, if the Indian masses are to be freed from a feeling of frustration. In this direction, cottage-industries can play a valuable part and offer fruitful part-time or whole-time employment to a large number of people. For this reason provision is going to be made in the second Five Year Plan for reviving old small-scale and cottage industries and giving encouragement to the existing ones.

Our success in the field of external relations has been even more pronounced. The policy of what I may be permitted to call active and purposeful neutrality, which in actual effect means that we look upon no country as our enemy and no people as hostile, has given us opportunities of doing our little bit in the cause of world-peace. We feel happy and thankful that in the comity of nations India's prestige is so high. We have willingly shouldered the responsibility of heading the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Indo-China, where our men are grappling to the best of their ability with local problems, pending elections in that country. We stand for peaceful negotiations for the settlement of disputes, national or international. I am very happy to say that the solution of the problems of French possessions in India was arrived at in an atmosphere of peace and goodwill. It is a significant instance of the success of peaceful methods. Unfortunately, our efforts for solving a similar problem in respect of Portuguese possessions in India have not made much headway. Let me hope Portugal will see the justice of the claim to freedom of the residents of the territory in its possession and take a leaf out of the British and French Government's book.

As the year closes, we find a pleasant change in our relations with our nearest neighbour, Pakistan, for whom we have nothing but the best of wishes. That change is symbolised by the presence in our midst of the head of that State to witness at our invitation the celebrations of the Republic Day at considerable personal inconvenience to himself.

This year, which will be noted for our important contacts with foreign countries, brought quite a few distinguished visitors to India. Among them, I might mention Marshall Tito, President of Yugoslavia, the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, the Prime Minister of Ceylon and the Prime Minister of Indonesia. It was our privilege to have received these great leaders. We were also fortunate in having Cultural Missions from Soviet Russia, China and Afghanistan all of which gained great popularity among our people. There can be no doubt about the utility of such visits and exchange of Cultural Missions among nations.

While we stand by the ideals of the United Nations as ever before, we think mutual consultations among nations of different continents to discuss common problems are not incompatible with the aims or the ideals of that great organisation. The nations of Asia and Africa are proposing to meet at a Conference in Indonesia for discussing such problems among themselves.

Great as all these tasks are, they only help us to feel self-reliant and keep ready to march forward. But there is no occasion for self-complacency. This is only the beginning of the new era which we are pledged to bring about.

India needs the goodwill, co-operation and help of each one of her nationals for fulfilling the great tasks we have taken upon ourselves. There is enough evidence of the feeling of self-reliance and hope among the people who have full faith in the destiny of their country. All these are welcome signs.

I would end this address with a word of cheer for the down-trodden, backward and physically handicapped among us. Goaded by our solemn pledges and inspired by the lofty ideals for which India has stood through the ages and of which Mahatma Gandhi did so much to remind us, India is determined to bring about a true Welfare State, in which not only does every citizen enjoy equal rights and quality of opportunity in all spheres of life, but is also expected to do his duty by the country and the people. May this ideal for which we are striving be our pole star to guide us and to inspire us is my prayer today.

REPUBLIC DAY BROADCAST

25 January, 1956

On the auspicious occasion of the sixth anniversary of our Republic, let me once again offer my greetings and good wishes to my countrymen. For all of us it is a national festival. On this day of rejoicing, we look at ourselves and our country and feel, as it were, the process of growth and development through which India has been passing. Infinitesimally short, this period of six years means a lot for us, because during these years we have strained and toiled to carry forward the task with which our Constitution has charged us, by trying to translate into action the Directive Principles contained in it. I know, one of the youngest of republics though we are, India is one of the oldest among nations. We naturally feel happy and grateful to Providence when, by virtue of our efforts to establish a Welfare State at home and to follow a policy of peace and goodwill in relation to other nations of the world, our successes are ascribed to the quality of mellowness which our nation has developed through the ages. It is at once a rare privilege and a heavy responsibility to have a distinguished past and to seek to live up to the time-honoured principles enunciated by the ancients, on the one hand, and, on the other, to so mould our present and our future as to come up to what conditions of the modern scientific age demand. We in India are thus the inheritors of a great past and aspirants to an equally great future and the willing and devoted builders of it. Let, therefore, every citizen of the Indian Republic not only rejoice today for he or she can, without doubt, claim a share in whatever we may have been able to achieve during these six years, but also resolve once again to dedicate himself or herself to the service of what we aim at, which is no less than the establishment of a happy and prosperous Bharat.

When we look back and have a bird's-eye view of the main events of these years, the overall feeling is that of satisfaction, though it is tempered with the feeling that we have merely made a beginning and that we have yet to go a long way towards banishing poverty and ignorance and getting the better of want and poverty, ignorance and disease.

Nature, in all its glory, has again served to remind us of its ferocious temper and unpredictable ways. During this year, hardly

any part of India remained unaffected by the fury of floods. The very rivers which have been the subject-matter of the thoughts of our planners and engineers, swelled in spate bringing vast tracts of land under water. In Assam and West Bengal in the East, in Madras and Andhra in the South and in Bihar, U.P., the Punjab and Pepsu in the North, we witnessed the devastating excursions of flood waters, turning green fields, scattered hamlets and busy town streets into lakes. Delhi itself, the Capital of our Republic, was not immune from calamitous floods. For days and days water kept rising in the Jamuna and overawed citizens kept an uneasy watch as the water level touched and crossed the danger point. The Union Government and the Governments of the respective States, I am glad to say, left nothing undone to provide relief to the sufferers. Efforts are continuing even now to rehabilitate flood victims. As for preventive measures or a permanent remedy against floods, a long view has to be taken of the matter. The Planning Commission is fully seized of the situation and may be depended upon to give sufficient priority to flood control as one of the aspects of our river-valley and hydro-electric projects.

Having referred to the Planning Commission, let me also say that the draft of the Second Five-Year Plan is almost ready and is receiving final touches in consultation with the State Governments and other interests concerned. The developments in various spheres which the Second Five-Year Plan is expected to achieve are, indeed, impressive. The successful implementation of the First Five-Year Plan, resulting in nearly all of the agricultural, industrial and social welfare goals having been reached, inspires faith among the people about the success of the Second Plan. Among other things, health and education are going to get higher allocations in the Second Five-Year Plan, making improvement and expansion in the available service possible.

We grow now enough food to feed our population, and also put aside something for reserves. Besides generating sufficient power to electrify thousands of villages in various States, as a result of the new projects which have already started working, eight million new acres of land have been brought under irrigation. Thanks to the Community Project Scheme and the National Extension Service, the development programme in the countryside is proceeding apace. Thousands of trained workers spread in about 1,00,000 villages are grappling with problems like land improvement, education, public health, communications, etc., in widespread and far-flung areas of the country. Our

national per capita income has also risen by about 3 per cent a year during the period of the First Plan.

I do not mean to suggest that we have done enough to meet the challenge of poverty and unemployment. I know that dealing with the problem of unemployment successfully calls for more concerted efforts on a national scale. To this question also the Planning Commission has devoted fullest attention and has been holding consultations about it with officials and public men throughout the country.

In the field of industrialization, we have been able to maintain the rate of progress of the previous years. Not only has production been stepped up by establishing industries, but setting up of additional plants, particularly for the production of steel, has also been taken up. A few months ago, the first Indian factory to manufacture newsprint and pulp went into production. The Perambur Railway Carriage Factory was also opened lately by our Prime Minister.

The Second Five-Year Plan aims at giving greater importance to what may be best described as small-scale or cottage industries and it is hoped that such industries will give great encouragement not only to our handicrafts but also go a considerable way towards solving the tremendous problem of unemployment.

While we have tried to cater to the material needs and requirements of a modern State and its vast and growing population, we have not failed to give encouragement to fine arts and our Akadamis are already going ahead in rendering assistance to those who try to lighten the tedium of life and make it not only pleasanter but also loftier.

As in previous years, during the year under review also, our foreign policy has been acclaimed in many foreign countries as one of the major contributory factors making for peace in the world. The policy of peaceful co-existence and non-involvement in war, which our Prime Minister has been so ably advocating, has this year won more adherents in Asia and Europe. It is not in an expansionist spirit that I have mentioned it. One should feel happy if the sphere of the areas pledged to the principles of peaceful co-existence or Panchsheel widens so as to include in it as many countries as possible.

Following in the wake of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to Soviet Russia, the Russian Prime Minister and the Secretary of the Supreme Soviet were good enough to pay a visit to our country. We are glad that His Majesty King Saud Bin Abdulaziz of Saudi Arabia also

visited India in response to our invitation. He was the first head of an Arab State to have visited this country. Thanks to our foreign policy and to the efforts of those who represent India in other countries, our stock in the comity of nations is as high as ever. The responsibility to keep it at that level so that India is looked upon as a pillar of peace and a friend of all nations rests on all the people of India whether living at home or in lands overseas.

I share with all my countrymen the feeling of sorrow that all our appeals and suggestions for a peaceful solution of the problem of Goa have hitherto made no effect on the Portuguese Government and the authorities there have resorted to force to suppress the natural aspirations of the people to enjoy the bracing air of freedom. Let me hope even now Portugal will see the light of reason and agree to cede Goa to India, to whom geographically, historically and culturally it belongs.

Let us, one and all, dedicate ourselves once again to the great cause of establishing a Welfare State in India and making our contribution to help maintain peace in the world.

REPUBLIC DAY MESSAGE TO INDIAN NATIONALS ABROAD

25 January, 1956

On this happy day, the sixth anniversary of the Indian Republic, I send my greetings and the best of wishes to Indian nationals in foreign lands. A great national festival as it is for us, we cannot possibly forget those of our countrymen who are not with us in India today. I admit that perhaps there are more occasions for them to remember us than for us to think of them. But I would like to assure them that they are never out of our mind and their welfare and prosperity are matters of deep concern to the Indian people and the Government. In whatever part of the world they may be, we wish them godspeed and offer them our best wishes.

Possibly, a large number of Indian nationals in overseas countries have not seen India since we became masters of our destiny, though presumably they know about the strides we have made in the sphere of material progress at home and in enhancing the prestige of the nation abroad. Nevertheless, I would like to tell them that India is about to emerge from one important phase of planned development and the draft of the second Plan is ready and its implementation is to be taken in hand a few months hence. The first Five-Year Plan has been a great success and in nearly all the spheres of nation-building and constructive departments we have been able to reach the targets aimed at. While we are moving as fast as we can towards industrialization, we have not neglected cottage and small-scale industries which provide employment to a large number of Indians, particularly in rural areas. I am glad to say that the countryside is gradually undergoing a great change for the better, thanks to the thousands of trained persons working for the amelioration of the village folk under the Community Projects Scheme and the National Extension Service. In respect of agriculture, education, public health, sanitation and communications, our villages are steadily improving.

About the part that India has been playing in the United Nations and outside as a country devoted to non-violence and peaceful co-existence, probably you know as much as we do. That is because living among foreign nationals and coming in touch with them in your day-to-day life, you should be better judges of India's status in the international world than those of us who remain mostly here. Although the status of a country has mostly to do with its foreign policy, its relations with other countries and the success of its policies at home, yet I feel that the general attitude and behaviour of its nationals living in other countries have also something to do with it. Personal contacts with foreign nationals are a potential medium of an individual's assessment. And in this particular case the assessment of an individual might well be the assessment of the nation he belongs to, because every foreigner may not have the means or the inclination to get his first impressions checked up or corrected. Let every Indian abroad, therefore, know that he is in a way the custodian of the nation's prestige and honour in foreign lands. I hope you will always remember this fact and act accordingly.

Once again, I offer all our nationals abroad my greetings and pray that the coming year may bring them greater happiness, joy and prosperity.

INTERNATIONAL LAW *

Let me thank you for the unique honour you have done me in asking me to inaugurate this Conference which, I understand, is the first of its kind to be held in India. It is only in the fitness of things that the Conference should have been organised under the auspices of the Indian Branch of the International Law Association—an Association founded in 1872 and justly renowned for its great contributions in the field of International Law. I am aware of my limitations and I am, therefore, approaching my task with a degree of trepidation. In spite of what the Chief Justice of India has been good enough to say about my being a lawyer, if I were to lay claim to such a status myself, I apprehend that Judges could be easily persuaded to hold that any such claim was barred on account of non-use for a prolonged period of more than 30 years, if not by the statute of limitation or the common law, at least by the law of common sense.

Those who have gathered here are persons of great experience. They are acquainted with different aspects of the problems coming up for consideration here, some because they have had practical and administrative experience of them, others because of their abiding interest in the advancement and reform of the law, others again, because they have made a profound study of the particular branches of the law. All are enthusiasts, and it ought to be one of the aims of a Conference of this kind to cause that enthusiasm to be communicated to others.

A glance at the imposing array of subjects on the agenda of your Conference is sufficient to show that without a deep study and vast research into the fascinating realms of International Law, it is not possible to say anything useful about the subjects which you will discuss in this Conference. I confess with humility that I have not hitherto been able to devote that much of time or thought to the important subjects under consideration here that I could say anything which is

*Inaugural address at the International Legal Conference, New Delhi, 28 December, 1953.

new to this distinguished assembly of lawyers from so many countries to whom it is our good fortune to extend our warm welcome today.

I may, however, be permitted to say a few words on certain fundamental aspects of the questions which interest not only this Conference, but humanity at large at the present moment. We find in the world today different ideologies, different ideals and different methods of attaining them. States are getting divided into blocs, each with its own ideology and programme of work. In spite of the existence and activity of the United Nations Organisation, which has been established by the willing consent of the nations of the world, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human being; in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom", tension among nations who are members of this organisation has not ceased. And, while attempts have been made, and are being constantly made, to settle disputes by mediation and conciliation, we are not in a position to say that we are free from fear or that we enjoy any of the other freedoms which the organisation is intended to secure for all. It is true that the General Assembly of the United Nations has made a universal declaration of Human Rights, but it is not yet possible to say with certainty that these fundamental rights are available to all, or are ensured in practical application to all.

One sometimes wonders how the nations of the world are going to keep one another in order, unless there is a super-State which controls each State, big or small, just as an individual's life and activity are controlled by the State of which he is a citizen. Even in a State which may be regarded as a well-governed democratic State, the relationship between the individual and the State is not always clear. In fact, one of the points of difference between the conflicting ideologies arises out of the concept of this relationship between the State and its individual citizens. Law, as it is understood, is the creation of the State. It governs the relationship between individual citizens of that State and between the State and its citizens. The underlying sanction behind such law is the might and authority of the State to have the law obeyed and enforced. In this concept of law, there is always desiderated as a *sine qua non* an external

authority with the power and the means to enforce it. In other words, law is what is created by the State and has to be obeyed by everyone who enjoys the benefits derivable from its citizenship. There is, as a matter of theoretical essentiality, no necessity for the law to be anything more than the will of the State for the time being expressed through its appropriate organ; and it is in fact irrespective of any moral or ethical value. That many laws have such an ethical and moral foundation does not in any way detract from the soundness of the proposition that moral or ethical correctness is not an essential characteristic of law. So long as there is sanction to enforce it, as is the case in all well-organised States, the law may be enforced whether it is morally and ethically good or not. This does not imply that existing laws which are enforced by the State are without any moral value. As a matter of fact, most people obey the law not because of the coercive apparatus of the State but because they have developed a sense which has made such obedience a habit, if not a second nature with them. Even more than that, laws are obeyed because they are morally good and valid. But I am concerned here with the sanction of the State which may be used even when the law has not that moral quality.

When you come to consider international relations, where there is no such external sanction available which can enforce what may be called international law against the citizens of a State, you will see that there can be no law in the strict sense of the term to regulate such relations. As Jeremy Bentham put it, International Law may be indebted to all or any of the "forces by which the human will is influenced". Thus, it is in the sphere of international relations that moral and ethical values furnish to some extent the sanction for law, at any rate, so far as States which have regard for such moral and ethical values are concerned. It may, therefore, be said that laws on the international plane have a higher moral and ethical value than on a national plane, and as such they have an importance all their own.

How to invest law with the ethical and moral efficiency which will give it its own binding force, is the question which can very well be considered by those who are not burdened with the responsibilities of the governance of a State and who are in themselves capable of assessing the true value of laws. An association which in itself is a non-official organisation has, therefore, a utility and grandeur of its own, which cannot be equalled by any official organisation. You have the unique privilege and responsibility of guiding the

nations individually, and also the International Organisation of the United Nations, by free, frank and fearless discussion of the principles which should govern the relationship between one State and another, on the one hand, and the individual and the State, on the other. There are no limits to your jurisdiction. I envy the ampler atmosphere in which you function.

I note with pleasure that the activities of this Conference are not confined exclusively to matters connected with International Law. I see that the agenda includes one item of special interest to me, namely, "Some features of the Indian Constitution", and another of considerable importance to municipal law generally, namely, "Organisation of Courts and the Legal Profession".

How I wish that you had taken for discussion two other subjects of no less importance, namely, the organisation and the functioning of legislatures. These last two subjects are of special significance in the present context because of the wide-spreading activities of the modern Welfare State. And, though the two subjects are closely related to each other, the functions performed by a judge and a legislator are mutually exclusive. For there is only one condition on which a man can do justice to two litigants, namely, that he shall have no interest in common with either of them; in the case of a legislator, however, it is only by having every interest in common with both of them that he can govern them well. The indispensable preliminary to democracy is the representation of every interest; the indispensable preliminary to justice is the elimination of every interest.

The law-making body is an entrancing subject of study and I hope you will permit me to dilate upon it a little. It is generally supposed that people understand their own interests better than others and, therefore, persons elected by them will represent their interests and will make laws and run the administration so as to serve them best. In the modern age, indeed in any age, it cannot be denied that there are conflicts of interest between individuals. But it is the duty of the legislators to resolve them and to see that the ultimate good of the people is served so that all may feel happy and contented. A real difficulty arises in regard to the concept of happiness itself, some treating it as no more than the satisfaction of material needs, present or future, others looking beyond the material requirements to something which they consider to be higher and nobler in life.

It is generally regarded, and I think rightly, that the rule of law should prevail in all societies which claim to be civilised. It

is all the more necessary, therefore, that the law should be such as to command obedience not because of the State's coercive force behind it but also because it has moral value. That which proceeds from the voice of the people is not necessarily the better thing because the voice of the people is not always the voice of God. Something has, therefore, to be done to ensure the quality of the men who frame the laws so that the quality of the laws themselves may be assured. What is true in the case of a State and its law is true also, perhaps to a greater degree, of the law of nations which has no sanction except that of the intrinsic value which the law has. International law has, however, this advantage over the law of any State, namely, that it has been evolved by jurists and adopted by States. It is not a body of legislative enactments which have been enforced, and are enforced, by the sanction of the State. It is accepted by nations on its own merits and, as such, has a great deal of moral authority behind it. Some of the interpretations and proposals of the International Law Association have been adopted by the United Nations, and let me hope that, as time advances, more and more weight will be attached to proposals made by persons who have no personal or national interest in view but evolve their principles on their own intrinsic merits.

This is all the more urgently needed in the present state of human society when the clash of national interests drives States to war. The shape which war is now taking is more and more one of total annihilation of the adversary and nearly total annihilation also of the victor. It has, therefore, become necessary to adopt measures which may prevent conflicts which lead to war.

Conflicts arise, in their ultimate analysis, out of material causes and ideological differences. If they have to be eliminated, we have to probe into certain fundamentals. The emphasis at the present time is on material prosperity. There is no limit to the height which what is called the "standard of living" can reach, and in the very nature of things the conflict between the haves and have-nots is being intensified on account of the emphasis that is universally laid on the fulfilment of the material needs on which the standard of living depends. So long as man continues to seek happiness more and more in the fulfilment of his desires, and not in the satisfaction born out of contentment with what he has, the conflict is bound to continue. It means that the entire structure of modern society, if not of modern thought, has to be reconstructed. It does not mean ignoring the satisfaction of material needs. It means only the

placing of greater emphasis on what is now wholly neglected, namely, satisfaction born out of contentment, which is entirely independent of the satisfaction of material needs. These material needs are so insistent and so self-evident that they do not call for any psychological emphasis, whereas contentment is very largely the result of mental discipline and needs psychological emphasis so that it may be able to hold its own in its encounter with man's physical needs.

It is evident that when no limit is put to the physical needs of man, the conflict can never be resolved. To take a very crude but effective illustration: there was a time when man was satisfied with the speed which his legs could give him. In course of time he felt that he should have greater speed, and today we have reached a stage when, if reports are correct, he can travel at two and a half times the speed at which sound travels, that is, 1,600 miles an hour. I do not know if the ultimate limit has been reached even yet. This craze for speed is only symbolic of man's desire to surmount and surpass the limitations put on his physical capacity; and it serves to indicate that in other respects also he cannot put any limit to what he considers necessary for him.

The question now arises whether mankind as a whole is happier with all this enormous and at one time unimaginable extension of his power to fulfil those needs. One might be excused if one be inclined to think that in this age with all the power which physical science has placed in his hands, he is less free from fear. The most powerful nations of today are living in constant fear of their rivals; and tremendous activity is being put forth to allay this fear by surpassing and suppressing the rival in respect of all equipments which are considered essential, and this is being done not for self-preservation but for annihilating the opponent.

This fear, no less than this insatiable desire to have material requirements fulfilled, is responsible in another way for controlling human liberties in diverse ways. As an association of lawyers, you can see how State legislation is spreading its tentacles to regulate the activities of citizens. Under one system it seeks to regulate all activities of the individual on the assumption that the State knows best what is in the best interests of the nation as a whole and also of the individuals composing it; in other words, the annihilation of the individual's personality is in his own best interests and the best interests of the nation, which is only a combination of individuals. Even in those countries where this ideology is not accepted or recognised and where great value is said to be attached to the personality

of man, it cannot be denied that man-made law is trying to cover larger and still larger spheres of man's activity. This arises because, taking all in all, the emphasis in those countries too is more on the satisfaction of material needs than on contentment; and that is so even when they profess and believe that the personality of man has to be respected and given full opportunity to develop. They inevitably are driven to the position of controlling the individual's activities because they are essentially motivated by a desire for fulfilment of physical needs. This also explains the emphasis on the representation of the interests of individuals and groups by their chosen representatives in the legislature, which is given the right to frame laws. When there is no limit, theoretically speaking at any rate, to these needs, it is only a matter of expediency and not of principle that a law which may be framed has any value apart from its capacity to help in the fulfilment of those needs. The same principle explains, and in fact necessitates, the emphasis on rights than on duties. Rights always imply what one has to take from or enforce against others. Duties, on the other hand, express what one owes or has to give to others. We may not expect any fundamental change unless the whole outlook is changed; and a beginning towards that change can be made by shifting the emphasis from one form of satisfaction to another, as I have suggested before.

The value of qualifications which a legislator should possess becomes all the more obvious in the present context. There was a time when law was supposed to be not made by man at all, but to have been given to mankind either by God himself or by prophets and seers or Rishis. Secular law was not very different, or at any rate, fundamentally different from what may be called religious or moral law. All ancient laws will perhaps be found to agree in this, that they made man's happiness dependent more upon himself than upon anything outside himself, more on his own mental and spiritual satisfaction than on the satisfaction of his physical needs and requirements. Once we are able to begin to look more in the direction of this inner satisfaction than to the fulfilment of physical cravings, the way will be opened for a solution of conflicts. Ideological differences too are based on differences of outlook on this basic question of internal fulfilment and satisfaction by external devices. Therein we see the emergence of non-violence which aims at fulfilment without external coercion in any form.

It has been well said that wars are born in the minds of men and so should peace be born there. The objective of the UNESCO

has been very beautifully laid down thus: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". That can be achieved only if there is a change in the make-up of the mind of man. An Indian philosopher, Dr. Bhagwan Das, who is happily still with us, has described the qualifications of the law-giver in the following words. I believe he is guided in his description by what were treated in the days of old as the essential qualifications of one who laid down laws: "Persons elected to it (legislature) should be of mature experience, wide knowledge, disinterested philanthropy, widely honoured and trusted by the people because of their lives of proven worth. Arithmetical devices like those of proportional representation, single transferable vote, reserved seats for special interests and votes secured by or for candidates of unknown ethical quality by means of whirlwind campaigns of electioneering tricks cannot and do not cure ethico-psychical diseases of egoistic selfishness and defective character; and the presence of serious ethical defects in legislators is fatal to the wisdom and beneficence of the laws enacted. The legislator must be above all prejudices of race, creed, caste, colour and sex. In other words, only good and wise legislators can make good and wise laws; therefore only such persons as have been proven good and wise by their lives, should be elected to the legislature."

If such legislators are to be found, it is very necessary that these very qualities are present amongst their electors as well. As a first step in this direction, coercion in any form by one individual on another or by one group or nation on another group or nation has to be ruled out and non-violence made the basis of relationship. It was one of the characteristics of Indian saints and seers to sum up in a few words the fundamental truths of life. That is how our philosophy is contained in simple *sutras* or aphorisms. It was left to some others to reason out in logical form the philosophy underlying these aphorisms. Others, again, wove them into simple fables and stories which would be intelligible and acceptable to simple, unlearned and unsophisticated people. It was in the line of succession of these seers of India that Mahatma Gandhi summed up his philosophy in two words "Satya and Ahimsa" (Truth and Non-violence).

You, members of the International Law Association, are, I believe, not hampered by any limitation of being either an official body or representatives of any particular group of individuals or nations; and you can, if you so choose, bring to bear upon your deliberations complete freedom of thought and expression. You can lay emphasis

on ethical values for which I have pleaded and thus help in re-orientating the outlook of humanity and saving it from the impending ruination to which it is being led.

In according you a cordial welcome, wishing your deliberations every success and urging on you the adoption of breadth of vision and freedom from all narrow notions, I can only hope that I have not been led to say anything which is inappropriate for an occasion like this, and I ask to be excused if I have allowed myself to be betrayed into any impropriety.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION *

It is with great pleasure that I rise to welcome here in our midst His Excellency Marshal Tito, President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. We welcome him as the Chief of a State in Europe which has played an important and significant part during the last war and in subsequent years. We welcome him also as a great leader of men whose heroic exploits during the war for the liberation of their country evoked widespread admiration.

Even though this is your first visit to India, your name is a familiar one in this country which has admired the courage and determination which the people of Yugoslavia have shown under your leadership. We in India have faced different circumstances and have followed a different path. But many here have undergone like you the experience of long years of imprisonment and suffering in the cause of freedom. Both our countries have reached this goal of freedom through trial and tribulation and are now intent on preserving it and in adding to its content.

In our long past the contacts between our two countries, distant from each other, have not been great. But in the recent past and in the present, those contacts have grown because there has been much in common in our aims and ideals. We are both intent on building up our countries so as to promote the progress and happiness

*Speech on the occasion of the Banquet to President Tito, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, 18 December, 1954.

of our peoples. This process of building up and constructive endeavour, for us as for the rest of the world, requires the maintenance of peace. We are, therefore, wholly devoted to the cause of peace and co-operation among nations and we have striven to the utmost of our ability to reduce tensions among nations and encourage understanding and friendship among them. That has been your aim too and, therefore, there is this commonness in our outlook and endeavour in this great work for peace.

Every country has its own individuality, even though it may have much in common with other countries. Every country has been conditioned by its history and by its environment. Thus, there are differences between countries, but these differences in outlook or in political or social system need not and should not come in the way of co-operation. The only alternative to this co-operation between nations is conflict, and conflict today means something terrible to contemplate. Therefore, wise men have ruled out the idea of war in the circumstances that exist today. If war is to be ruled out, then the causes that lead to war should also be removed and what has been called the cold war should also not be encouraged. We know that fear, suspicion, and passionate resentment fill people's minds in many countries. It is not easy to deal with them. Nevertheless, if this world is to survive, we have to work continuously for peace and understanding among nations and for the removal of these fears and suspicions. In this great task we know that you, Sir, and your nation are vitally interested, even as we are. Indeed every sensitive and thinking human being, to whatever country he may belong, must necessarily be interested in this urgent task that faces humanity.

We look forward to increasing co-operation between our countries and your visit to India will undoubtedly help in strengthening the friendship between the two countries to their mutual advantage and for the promotion of peace and understanding among nations.

I trust that you and your distinguished colleagues will have a pleasant stay in our country and will see not only some monuments of our ancient past but also something of what we are doing today. These efforts of today absorb our attention because we are determined to build up this country and bring happiness and prosperity and equality of opportunity to all people who dwell here.

I welcome you, Sir, again and your colleagues on behalf of the people and the Government of India and I should like you to convey

on your return to Yugoslavia our greetings and friendly sentiments to your people and our hope that we shall live as friends and co-operate in the great tasks ahead.

HELPING UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES *

I am grateful to you for the very kind words you have said about India and her people and our efforts in the field of reconstruction at home and the establishment of peace and amity among nations of the world. We attach great value to your words, coming as they do from a feeling of goodwill and friendly consideration.

You have been good enough to refer to free India's achievements in the sphere of agriculture, which has for centuries been the principal occupation of our people providing fruitful employment to about three-fourths of them, and to the various river valley projects. On assuming charge of administration of the country, our first anxiety was to develop the natural resources of our country with a view to increasing production and raising our people's standard of living. It was for this reason that we resorted to planned economy. We feel encouraged by your kind remarks as to our progress in that direction.

I welcome what you have said about the need for helping under-developed areas to come up to the level of other countries. I am at one with you in holding it imperative that every member of the international community should view the development and progress of other members of the community as a matter of its own immediate concern. This concern for the backward and under-developed people is an inevitable corollary of scientific development and modern trends which have annihilated distance and, in a way, dimmed the boundaries of different countries. It is, therefore, entirely in the interest of the world as a whole and of every member of the comity of nations that every country should come up to a minimum level of development, and its people should have a

*Reply to Marshal Tito's banquet speech in honour of Indian Leaders, 20 December, 1954.

minimum standard of living. The attainment of such improvement in the living conditions of under-developed countries is indeed a pre-requisite of what has been called peaceful co-existence in a world with countries and nations having different ideologies, different systems of Government and different social set-ups.

We are indeed very happy that your country has such a lofty ideal before her in her efforts in the United Nations. We wholeheartedly endorse your stand and look forward to mutual co-operation in the United Nations, which you have rightly described as one of the most fruitful areas of our mutual co-operation. Let me reiterate that there is much in common in the ideals, the aspirations and the policies of our two countries. This identity of aims and problems, namely, economic reconstruction of the country for ensuring prosperity and happiness for our people at home, and pursuing a policy of co-operation among nations for safeguarding peace in the world, is a guarantee of still greater co-operation and mutual goodwill and friendship between Yugoslavia and India.

I take this opportunity to thank Your Excellency for your good wishes and the kind sentiments expressed by you for our Prime Minister's and my health and the welfare of the Indian people. I have great pleasure in reciprocating those sentiments. May I now drink to the health of Your Excellency, your distinguished colleagues and the people of Yugoslavia, and hope that the bonds of friendship and understanding already existing between our two peoples may be further strengthened with every passing day?

INDIA AND PAKISTAN *

I am very happy this evening to welcome the distinguished head of our neighbouring country. You, Sir, are no stranger to India's capital city. Many of us here remember your kind geniality and warm friendship. Your liberality of outlook, high sense of duty

*Speech at the banquet in honour of H.E. the Governor-General of Pakistan at Rashtrapati Bhavan, 25 January, 1955.

and lofty patriotism are still recalled with admiration by many in this country. We are particularly happy that despite your state of health and heavy preoccupations, you have found time to pay us a visit and participate in the festivities of our Republic Day.

Five years ago, India became a Republic. This was the day of which many of us dreamt in our early years and for which numerous people have made heavy sacrifices. Tomorrow is, therefore, a day of special significance to us in India. It is an occasion on which millions demonstrate their unity despite the diversity in their language, religion and culture. It is not only an occasion of joy; it is an inspiration for the future. We all, of course, exult in our hard-won freedom. We are, however, all the time conscious that freedom would be without any meaning if it did not result in the happiness and well-being of millions who have for ages been denied the minimum of food and clothing. To this task India's leaders have pledged themselves. I know that the leaders of Pakistan also are determined to achieve the same end. And among them no one carries a greater responsibility, Sir, than you. We have many bonds of friendship and understanding with your great country and have been watching your efforts with great interest. Many problems of our two countries are common and I feel sure that each can profit from the experience of the other in its endeavour to solve them. We wish you every success in fulfilling your great task.

I need not tell you, Sir, how millions in both our countries have lived the greater part of their lives together. Although we have voluntarily parted company, years of close association assisted by a common background and a common experience provide the foundation for enduring friendship and understanding between us. There is much in common in the languages spoken in our two countries, so that we can understand each other. There should, therefore, be no problem between our two countries which would not be capable of solution in a spirit of friendliness and understanding. I can assure you that my Government are anxious to do everything in their power to solve these problems in fruitful co-operation with yours.

On behalf of the Government and the people of India and on my own behalf, I welcome you again. We are only sorry that your stay with us should be so brief. We are, however, aware of the heavy responsibilities which you carry. We, therefore, appreciate all the more your kindness in accepting our invitation to be present

with us on our day of national rejoicing. May I express the hope that you will find time later to pay us a longer visit so that we might have an opportunity of showing you something more of New India. Our best wishes be with you and your countrymen.

INDIA AND SAUDI ARABIA *

It is with great pleasure that I rise to welcome here in our midst His Majesty King Saud Bin Abdulaziz, the King of Saudi Arabia. We welcome him as the head of a State with which India's relations are of very long standing. Even before the advent of Islam there was a good deal of exchange between Arabia and India in matters cultural, social and commercial. For the last one thousand years and more that contact has been maintained and strengthened through Islam. We have even today after the partition of the country nearly 40 million Muslims inhabiting various parts of this country. Islam has affected not a little the language, the literature, the music and other fine arts—in fact, every department of life in India. And even a stranger can see for himself much that is common between the Muslims and non-Muslims of this vast country. All Muslims look upon the Kaba as the great sacred shrine and some ten thousand Muslims undertake a pilgrimage to Saudi Arabia every year as a sacred duty enjoined on them.

With such a large Muslim population and followers of other religions numbering more than 300 million, India is naturally and traditionally a land where tolerance has prevailed since time immemorial and the present-day Indian Union is a secular State guaranteeing freedom of profession and practice to followers of all religions and favouring none in preference to others.

We are, therefore, very grateful to His Majesty for his kind visit in response to our invitation and our joy is all the greater because this is the first time when a King of Arabia has been good enough to

* Welcome Speech in honour of His Majesty the King of Saudi Arabia, 27 November, 1955.

pay a visit to this country. On this happy occasion, I extend to His Majesty a hearty welcome to this land on behalf of the people of India, the Government of India and on my own behalf.

It is well known that the progress that Saudi Arabia has made in recent years is in a large measure due to the guidance and indefatigable efforts of the King of that country. The valuable experience that His Majesty gathered before ascending the throne of Saudi Arabia in 1953 under his illustrious father, His Late Majesty King Abdulaziz, has played a great part in building Saudi Arabia on progressive and modern lines. In His Majesty, therefore, we welcome today not only a great sovereign but also an experienced administrator.

It will not be out of place for me to mention here the important role that Saudi Arabia is playing today in the comity of nations. His Majesty's policy of neutrality and peaceful co-existence has had a welcome effect on the international situation, particularly in the East. We in this country who are also wedded to the same policy of peace are naturally so happy today to find His Majesty in our midst.

I am sure His Majesty's visit to this country will further strengthen the age-old bonds of friendship and fellow-feeling subsisting between the peoples of Saudi Arabia and India. While thanking His Majesty once again, I hope that his stay in India will be pleasant and comfortable.

INDIA AND IRAN *

On behalf of the people of India, the Government of India and myself, I heartily welcome this evening His Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran and Her Majesty the Empress on their visit to India.

It is well known that the relations between Iran and India are many centuries old. A mere mention of Iran is enough to recall in

* Welcome Speech at the banquet in honour of Their Imperial Majesties the Shahanshah and the Empress of Iran, 17 February, 1956.

the mind of an Indian the ancient ties of fellowship and unity. In that hoary past, the dawn of history, our ancestors and those of Iranians belonged to the same family of Aryans.

There was great similarity between the old Iranian language and the Vedic Sanskrit. Since those times there has been a regular exchange between Iran and India in the spheres of literature, art and culture. Right from the days of Darius the Great to the end of the *Moghul Saltanat* in India, our two countries have been influencing each other through that exchange of ideas. Quite a number of Persian words have been absorbed in our languages and form now a part of their vocabulary. During the Muslim rule in India, all administrative work was done in Persian, which continued to be cultivated by a large number of Indians till lately. Persian was then the language of the nobility and the educated classes and in some families it was adopted as the language of day-to-day use. That is how a large number of Persian words have become current coin in the languages spoken in India. The culture of Iran has had its influence on Indian culture. Persian, again, was the vehicle of exchange on the cultural plane between our two countries during the Muslim rule in India.

Of no less importance has been the impact of Iranian influence in the realm of thought. We can see a certain parallelism of thought and beliefs between Iran and India. Fire and sun worship travelled from one country into another and in course of time the philosophy of Vedanta and Sufi-ism sprang in India and Iran from more or less identical bases. While the people of India are proud of this age-old connection with the people of Iran, they naturally feel happy to see the present-day ties of friendship and goodwill binding our two countries together. It is but natural, if, as a result of common ideas and beliefs in the various fields of human endeavour, the process of mutual give and take and in modern times the friendly ties between our two countries, the people of India look upon the people of Iran as their close friends and well-wishers. There may arise a difference of opinion sometimes among us, but the firm basis of understanding and mutual regard on which our bonds of friendship rest, can always be depended upon to take such a strain well, and indeed to help towards the solution of any given problem of common interest through mutual talks and friendly exchange of views.

I would like to assure His Majesty that it is the keen desire of the people and the Government of India that these friendly rela-

tions of mutual goodwill between India and Iran should continue for ever. I have no doubt that the subsisting ties of friendship will be further strengthened by the gracious visit to this country of Their Imperial Majesties the Shahanshah and the Empress of Iran.

Let me thank Their Imperial Majesties on behalf of the people and the Government of India and on my own behalf for their visit to this country in response to our invitation. I wish and pray that the stay of Their Majesties the Shahanshah and the Empress of Iran in this country will be pleasant and enjoyable.

INDIA AND NEPAL *

I wish to thank you on behalf of the Government and people of India and on my own for the kindness and affection that you and your people have shown to us during our brief stay in your great capital.

I bring to Your Majesties and to your Government and people the fraternal greetings and good wishes of the Government and people of India. I shall carry back with me happy memories of the warmth and friendliness that I have received here. It is but natural that the peoples of our two countries should entertain warm regard and affection for each other because of our age-old relationship based on culture, religion, race, language and other common interests. We are parts of the same sub-continent, standing together in perpetual amity and friendship. India is vitally interested in the peace and prosperity of your great country and I am sure you are equally interested in ours. What happens in India is bound to have its repercussions in Nepal and vice versa. We are faced with common problems and we cherish common ideals. We are both under-developed countries and are striving hard to improve the standard of living of the common man. While we

* Speech at the banquet given by His Majesty the King of Nepal in honour of the President at Kathmandu, 22 October, 1956.

in India have just completed our first Five-Year Plan and started on the Second, you are embarking on your first Five-Year Plan. Our experience will be at your disposal; and we shall do the best we can to assist in the progress and development of your country.

The last few years have seen momentous changes in the history of Asia. Both India and Nepal have experienced these changes. The days of feudalism and colonialism are gone for ever. We hope that the scourge of war has also gone and that we shall have peace and goodwill on earth. Towards this common aim both our countries have to strive together because peace is the greatest need of not only our two countries but also of Asia and the world.

India and Nepal are inseparably linked together by strong ties since time immemorial. These ties have bound us together in the past and will, I feel sure, bind us for ever in future. Your country and mine follow a policy of peace and friendship towards all. Therefore your friends are our friends and our friends are your friends. Any threat to the peace and security of Nepal is as much a threat to the peace and security of India. We do not believe in military alliances or military blocs. We believe in the method of peaceful negotiations to solve international conflicts. We do not threaten the sovereignty or integrity of any other state. Nor do we wish to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. In these ideals and aspirations we believe that Nepal is with us and we are with Nepal.

Our common outlook, our common interests and our mutual ties have been specially strengthened in recent years and we look forward to strengthen them further in the future. Nepal has preserved many aspects of our cultural heritage even better than we ourselves have done in India. It is for this reason that many people in India have a particularly warm corner for Nepal in their hearts. Events in recent years have brought us closer together. We hope that through mutual cooperation and trust, through mutual friendship and respect, we shall progress hand in hand towards the attainment of our common goals and ideals. The close friendship and ties of our two countries are an example to the rest of Asia and the world and a strong force for the preservation of peace.

UNITED NATIONS DAY MESSAGE

23 October, 1956

As nations of the world progress along the path of prosperity and freedom, the need for an international organisation to settle all disputes through peaceful negotiation is being felt more and more. We have already arrived at a stage when the process of human advance in the various fields of reconstruction seems to be conditioned by our capacity to settle all mutual disputes peacefully. Failure to do so is sure to blight our plans of building a world of plenty, a world moving forward with the momentum of co-operative spirit and love for peace. Let us therefore think once again of the laudable objectives of the United Nations and on this day rededicate ourselves to these principles and pledge allegiance to them.

During the year that has just ended, the United Nations has been preoccupied with several problems of vital importance for the welfare of humanity. Efforts in the direction of disarmament and the setting up of International Atomic Energy Agency are prominent among them. Slow progress or even apparent failure in regard to disarmament should not be a discouraging factor. What counts more than anything else is our faith in the principles of the United Nations. Taking into account the last two thousand years or more of the world's recorded history, it will be admitted that settlement through peaceful negotiations is a new concept in the context of world affairs. We must not, therefore, lose patience and should make a determined effort to change the old trends. It need hardly be emphasized that such efforts would answer as much the needs of our self-preservation as the call of the awakened humanity, tired of destructive wars and bent upon ensuring peaceful progress.

This year the United Nations Day comes at a time when this world organisation has been in the thoughts of many people. The Suez Canal issue having taken a serious turn became a challenge to the goodwill and wisdom of all peace-loving nations. Among the various proposals that have been lately mooted by the parties directly concerned with this dispute and by other neutral Powers, reference of the issue to the United Nations was also included. Happily, the view in favour of referring this matter of great inter-

national importance to the accredited organisation of nations was found acceptable to all concerned and although it is too early to say that the problem has been solved, the Security Council has been able to formulate principles on the basis of which further discussion for a peaceful solution is possible and this has been unanimously agreed to. It is a matter of congratulation and gratification.

To all nations of the world and to all fellowmen I send my greetings on the United Nations Day and pray that this organisation and its various agencies may become an effective instrument for ensuring world peace and ending for ever all wars and the fear of war.

INDIA AND UNESCO*

It gives me great pleasure to extend a hearty welcome to you, representatives of all the member countries of the UNESCO to this Conference which is being held in Asia for the first time. I hope your stay in India will be comfortable and fruitful and you will be able to find time to see something of this country before you return home.

It is unfortunate that this Conference of one of the most important specialised agencies of the United Nations is being opened today under the shadow of armed conflict which broke out last week in the Middle East to the great discomfiture of all peace-loving men and nations of the world. It is indeed a sad state of affairs that violence should have been resorted to as a means to settle a question which is already before the United Nations and to solve which well-meaning efforts have been and are being made by several member-States of the United Nations. Sorry as we feel that precipitate action should have been taken and the only international organisation set up for settling such disputes ignored, we have perhaps some reason to feel gratified that world opinion is solidly behind U.N.

* Speech delivered at the UNESCO Conference, 5 November, 1956.

and against the use of force. The overwhelming majority by which the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted, a few days ago, the resolution calling for immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt, is clearly indicative of the climate of public opinion throughout the world against the use of force. Let us hope the forces of peace and goodwill will assert themselves, making aggression by any nation impossible and also unprofitable.

The situation in Hungary is also grave and is causing anxiety to all lovers of peace and freedom.

Of all the specialised agencies set up by the United Nations in pursuance of its objective, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) is, in my opinion, of utmost importance. If we analyse the human mind and ponder the chronicle of past events available in the form of history, we shall see that men's ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been reflected in prejudice, suspicion and mistrust, and all these have been the bases of differences which have led to war among the peoples of the world. The immediate cause of war might be political, but there can be no doubt that there exist points of conflict which are extra-political, namely, economic or racial or cultural. Any effort to achieve lasting peace must, therefore, begin with an understanding of all factors which produce tension, and must seek to resolve them. In so far as UNESCO tackles the most fundamental of these points, that is, the cultural point, its efforts and achievements will have a direct bearing on our attempt to bring the various nations closer to one another and to effect as far as possible an emotional integration of the peoples of the world.

It is not possible to overemphasize the importance of the objective and the programme of an organisation like UNESCO that deals with the basic factors which make for intellectual co-operation among nations and thus lay the foundations of lasting peace in the world.

It will be generally agreed that all the three aspects of the human problem—education, science and culture with which UNESCO is concerned, are universal in character so that they are of equal value for all nations, advanced or under-developed, Western or Eastern. These factors have an added advantage of being non-controversial in nature. There can be no two opinions, therefore, about either the objective or long-term programmes of UNESCO. I feel that this organisation is destined to play a leading role in preparing man psychologically for rehabilitating human dignity and

viewing the social and moral virtues in their proper perspective. UNESCO's efforts in demonstrating fundamental unity of human culture through education and the advance of science will go a long way in clearing human minds of the old cobwebs and thereby removing the tensions which lead to war. Reforming human thinking and those mental processes which accept war as an alternative, if not inevitable, means for solving international disputes despite its unavoidable destruction and inescapable sufferings caused to the victor as well as the vanquished, is the surest way of ensuring world peace. It can, therefore, be said that while the Security Council and other such organisations of the United Nations deal with international problems as and when they crop up, UNESCO has been charged with the task of tackling the very source from which problems spring. Effective control at the source is bound to change the whole course of events to man's advantage. It is a process which is scientific and natural like the controlling of a river which has to be dammed at the source and not where the spate swells it, causing floods and devastation all along its course.

I am very happy to know that the importance of UNESCO's programmes is being appreciated so widely and that in matters educational and cultural, international co-operation has already begun to show results. It is indeed a happy augury that this constructive programme, which is bereft of the glamour of politics, has begun to command world-wide recognition. In the long run it will be wise and no less profitable to concentrate on the universal aspect of human nature and the works of art and science which man has produced all over the world. Achievements in the field of art and literature in various countries are like so many beacons which illumine the path of humanity in the midst of enveloping darkness. A work of art transcends all political, racial and national barriers and for that reason it is an object of universal appeal. Herein lies the fount of human unity and of community of aim and aspirations. To bring it into bold relief so that man may know man and in the process recognise himself properly is a task that must be given priority by a world which has too long laid emphasis on points of difference and mutual disagreement.

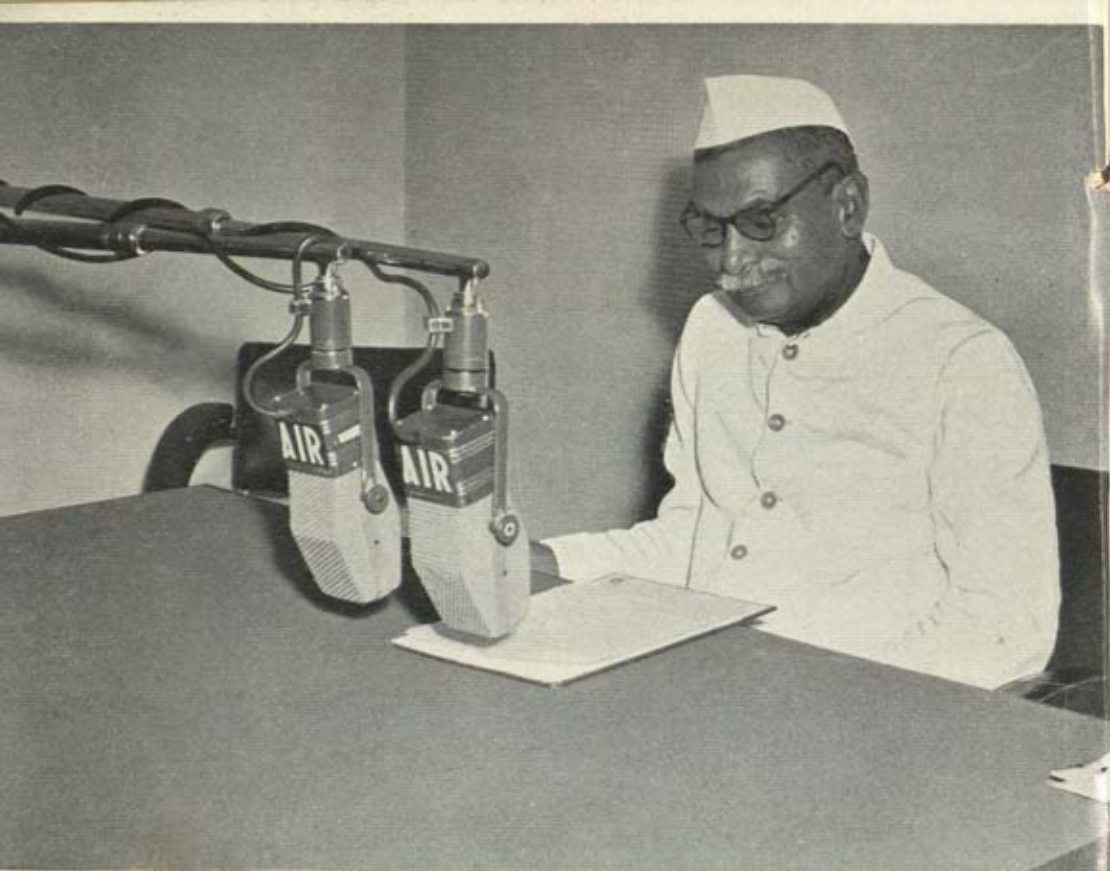
The long-term programmes of UNESCO promise to comply fully with this requirement of the human race. Its emphasis on exchange of information and knowledge so that all nations may benefit from the pool of human achievements and thereby come to understand one another properly is to be welcomed. The various media



President driving in State to Parliament House



Addressing Parliament after being sworn-in as President of India



Broadcasting to the nation on Republic Day eve



Addressing the International Legal Conference held at New Delhi



Proposing a toast in honour of Marshal Tito at the Rashtrapati Bhavan banquet



With His Majesty the King of Saudi Arabia, at Rashtrapati Bhavan

that you employ to achieve this end such as seminars, conferences, libraries, museums, literacy campaigns, etc., should be of great value to you in achieving your objective.

Let me hope that the deliberations of this Conference will lead to a wider realisation of this fundamental fact and succeed in enlisting the intellectual and emotional co-operation of all nations for building a lasting peace through the spread of education and knowledge. I wish your Conference success and pray that its discussions and the results achieved here may take the world closer to international understanding and peace.

INDIA AND ETHIOPIA*

On the happy occasion of the visit of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia and Their Imperial Highnesses to this country, I extend a hearty welcome to them on behalf of myself, the Government and the people of India. We are happy that His Majesty has been kind enough to respond to our invitation to visit India.

I am glad to say that the relations between Ethiopia and India are very cordial and we hope they will be getting more and more friendly with the passage of time. Like India, Ethiopia has also known the rigours of foreign domination, but happily, again like us, she is now out of the woods and established as an independent country. This common experience of joy and sorrow has naturally provided a meeting ground for our two peoples in their aims and aspirations. We set great value on our freedom, but equally greatly do we value the freedom of other countries. With this background it is not surprising that Ethiopia and India are at one in many matters coming within the purview of foreign policy and international relationship.

I recollect with joy that Your Majesty's Government participated in the Asia-African Conference held at Bandung in Indonesia and it readily subscribed to the aims and objects of that conference. In

* Speech at the banquet in honour of the Emperor of Ethiopia, 7 November, 1956.

your recent utterances in this country, Your Majesty has been pleased to express your faith in the principles of Panchsheel which stand for peace, progress and co-existence. We feel sure that these principles can serve not only the needs of resurgent Asia and Africa but also those of the nations in other continents.

In these circumstances, like all other peace-loving nations, we in this country also feel unhappy over the turn that events have taken in recent days in the Middle East, involving the use of armed force. It is a pity that such a thing should have happened at a time when the question was under active consideration by the United Nations. It is a matter for gratification, however, that there has been a cease-fire. Let us hope that the outstanding matters will be solved in a peaceful manner and peace firmly established on the basis of justice to all. May the joint efforts of all peace-loving countries, among which both our countries are included, be crowned with success ; this is my fervent prayer.

Welcoming Your Majesty to this ancient land is a matter of great pleasure to us all. I hope Your Majesty's stay in this country will be pleasant and comfortable and that as a result of this visit the friendly ties between our two countries will have become still stronger. Once again, I welcome Your Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia to this country and express my gratitude for the acceptance of our invitation by Your Majesty.

ANDHRA STATE*

I desire to offer you congratulations on achieving success in the efforts which you have been making for more than a generation now. Today is a day of rejoicing for you. To those who do not like to go back to the history of things, creation of a new province may appear only an administrative affair, perhaps not deserving of much celebration or rejoicing. But I think you are right in considering it a great occasion, not only because your long-cherished desire has been fulfilled but because, in my opinion, it will open up great vistas of progress and prosperity for you all.

I come from a province which at one time formed part of another province. It was created a pretty long time ago when I was quite young, but I remember the feelings which prevailed amongst my people before it actually became a separate unit. During the last 42 years, this province has made tremendous progress. Fortunately, it came under the guidance and inspiring influence of Mahatma Gandhi quite early in its career, when it was only six or seven years old. Your province has enjoyed a similar privilege. Its history of the last 32 or 33 years bears the imprint of Gandhiji's personality. That also explains the great sacrifices made by your leaders and the great organising capacity exhibited by them during our struggle for freedom.

There is only one piece of advice which I should like to give you as a friend. I know that you are an enthusiastic people. I also know that you have a good deal of sentiment for having an administration of your own. But I would advise you to keep your sentiments under check and let yourself be guided by reason. Your energy should not be wasted in projects which cannot be achieved today. The first thing for you to do is to make the province and the people stand on their own legs. I think you can do that because the province by itself is a good prosperous area and its land is fertile.

* Speech at the celebration of the inauguration of Andhra State at New Delhi, 1 October, 1953.

You have also, as was just now pointed out, good mineral resources and, above all, valuable human material in abundance.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood. I want to appeal to your sentiment also because, after all, we live more by sentiment than by reason. But when we have to run an administration, we cannot go by sentiment alone. We have to take into consideration the hard realities of everyday life. Therefore, I suggest that at the present moment you should think of nothing else; you should think only of one thing and that is how to run the administration successfully and efficiently.

I have no doubt you will have the sympathy not only of the province out of which Andhra State has been carved, but also of the rest of the country, the constituent States of the Union and the Government of India. With all this support and fund of goodwill, you should be able to run your administration successfully and make the people prosperous. At the same time, you should not forget that Andhra forms a part of India. While you should keep your own welfare in view, you should not ignore the general well-being of the people of India as a whole. I am sure you will make a valuable contribution to the development of the whole country and of your own province. I wish to congratulate you once again and I thank the organisers of this function for the great welcome they have extended to me on this occasion.

ROLE OF HIGH COURTS IN DEMOCRACY*

It is a matter of deep satisfaction to me that you have given me an opportunity to meet so many lawyers and judges on this occasion. It is not often that I get such a chance. There was a time when while practising in the courts, I used to meet judges and lawyers quite often, but if I were to revisit those old places now, I am afraid, I may find only a few familiar faces and the rest quite new to me.

* Speech made at the opening of the new extension wing of the Allahabad High Court, 10 February, 1954.

The pleasure is, therefore, all the greater because you have enabled me to meet so many of you today.

You have rightly said that under the present Constitution of India, the Courts of Justice play a vital part. In the very nature of things, a Federal Constitution requires judges to decide disputes not only between one individual and another, between an individual and the State, but also between a sovereign Legislature, on the one side, and may be, a humble citizen, on the other. I am glad that during the short period of the working of our Constitution, our High Courts have been discharging their duties to the satisfaction of all and also helping in raising the moral standard of the people. I hope and trust that in future the value of the work of men in the legal profession, men of the judiciary and all men engaged in judicial work, will be recognized even more than it is today.

It is a matter of concern to all of us that justice should remain suspended in the case of many litigants for years not because of lack of diligence on the part of judges but because of the very heavy pressure of work. I was painfully surprised to learn that even in this Court you have a large accumulation of work which has gone on mounting during the last 50 years or so. I do hope that something will be done soon not only to clear arrears but also to see that in future there is no accumulation of work for other people to attend to. Our Home Minister has been very anxious and he has been telling me every now and then that in many cases there is delay in the disposal of cases because the complicated procedure of law makes it difficult for courts to dispose of their cases as quickly as they would wish to. He has been working at a solution of this problem with great diligence and I am sure within a very short time, a new law will be introduced to reduce the reasons for procedural delays.

But as I said earlier, this is not the only aspect of judges' work which we have to take into consideration. We have now a different set of circumstances in which the judges and all those who are concerned with courts have to act. It seems to me that in a Welfare State the very nature of litigation will change and all of you who have been practising for a long time will be able to testify to the fact that the nature of litigation in this State is undergoing a change on account of the abolition of what is called the Zamindari system. If you turn over the pages of the law reports, you will find any number of cases dealing with the rights of the zamindars and land-

lords and inheritance of zamindaris. It seems to me, now that the zamindari has been abolished, the whole system of litigation relating to zamindari rights and their inheritance and things of that sort will disappear.

But at the same time, we are adding to the work of the High Courts in another direction. You must have noticed that the petitions for writs under the Constitution now occupy a pretty important place in our courts. For quite some time, till the law is adequately understood by the ordinary people, and it is authoritatively interpreted by the courts, such petitions and writs would continue to occupy an important place in our judicial system. In course of time, however, as the law becomes more and more definitely settled by authoritative decisions of courts, such cases are sure to diminish.

Another kind of litigation may crop up when our industries grow and when the volume of our trade and commerce increases. We shall then have a large volume of what may be called 'commercial cases', or 'cases dealing with labour or disputes between capital and labour'. Even as it is, although not strictly falling under High Courts, we have a large crop of labour cases which are disposed of by retired judges of High Courts sitting as members of tribunals. So it seems to me that though one kind of litigation may occupy less and less importance, as time goes on, other kinds of cases are bound to go up. There is, therefore, not much room for any apprehension on the part of the members of the Bar that their profession is going to suffer. It may be that in dealing with the labourers, they may not get the fat fees which they secured from big Zamindars, but the amount of energy which they will be called upon to devote to such cases, will, in no measure, be less.

Therefore, I say that while you are in this profession please bear in mind that, after all, it is a noble profession in which the payment of fees is not so important as is sometimes imagined. I believe in England even today a barrister cannot sue a client who defaults or refuses to pay him his fees. It is so because the lawyers are supposed to be the officers of the court required to assist the judges in deciding cases. The money part of cases is only a secondary thing. In course of time, however, this latter aspect grew in importance. We would do well to go back to those early times and prepare ourselves for selfless work because even according to our own traditions, the Pandit who gave *Vyavastha*, the Pandit who assisted the King in dispensing justice was not paid any fees by the

party, although he might have been paid by the King. Whatever that might be, I have no doubt that under our present Constitution the importance of the legal profession and certainly of the judges will grow.

You are rightly proud of the traditions of your Court. If I may say so, not only your Court but all our High Courts in India have maintained a high standard of justice, integrity and honesty and of fairplay and fearlessness in dispensing justice. It is for this reason that we can look back today with a sense of pride and satisfaction on our old lawyers and judges. We inherited one great thing from the British when they left us—a system of justice and jurisprudence, of law courts and lawyers. These we have been able to maintain in perfect working order till today. Had we attained our independence by a violent revolution, we do not know what would have happened to these institutions. Fortunately for us, we succeeded to a Government working regularly and smoothly, and to a system of courts which did not stop its work for a single day on account of transfer of power, or change in our status. It is our duty to maintain this heritage and also, if possible, to enrich it. It was therefore, a matter of great pleasure for me to have come here and attended this function. As I said earlier, although I have long been away from courts and lawyers, I could not today resist the temptation to be with you all, so that I might derive some satisfaction and feel one with you once again.

I thank you all for the honour you have done me. I thank especially the Chief Justice and the Advocate-General for the kind words they have said about me.

ASSAM HIGH COURT*

I deem it a privilege to be here today to lay the foundation-stone of the building of the High Court of Assam. Like the

* Speech made at foundationstone-laying ceremony of the building of the Assam High Court, Gauhati, 21 February, 1954.

University of Gauhati, which I had the pleasure of visiting this morning, this High Court is also, if I may say so, a boon conferred on Assam by the independence of India. The satisfactory progress that it has since made and the high status that it has acquired for itself during this short period of six years, provides sufficient justification for the promulgation of the Assam High Court Order, 1948, to which the Chief Justice has referred. Judged from any standard, the State of Assam deserved to have a High Court of its own. It is, therefore, very gratifying to see it established and making steady progress towards becoming the fountain-head of justice and the guardian of the people's rights and liberties.

The Chief Justice has adverted to the neglect of Assam in the pre-Independence era. It will certainly be true to say that though the Government of India Act of 1935 gave Assam the status of a full-fledged province and, like other provinces, allowed it to taste the fruit of provincial autonomy, yet, in actual practice, large parts of the State continued to remain a closed chapter to the Assam Ministry and the outside public, since they were declared as Excluded or Partially Excluded Areas. With the dawn of independence that process was reversed. It is realized that a large section of the population of Assam consists of Tribal people, deserving of special treatment, and our Constitution has made a special provision for the administration of the Hill districts in Schedule Six to the Constitution. I am sure it will be agreed that these meticulous provisions are entirely in the interests of the Tribal people and the people of Assam and the country as a whole.

If one thought that way, it would be no exaggeration to say that the Government of India have a very special interest in the welfare of the people of Assam, because as a result of the partition it has acquired a position of great strategic importance, surrounded as it is on three sides by foreign States. I have no doubt that the great caution which the framers of our Constitution have taken with regard to the administration of the various areas at varying stages of development, comprising the State of Assam, will eventually bring its own reward. The people inhabiting Assam will be the principal beneficiaries of these provisions, except in so far as a State's welfare means also the welfare of the Union. Having come only

yesterday after a two-day visit to one of the 'autonomous' Hill districts, I would like to add that our efforts in the direction of uplifting the Tribal people may be said to have started bearing fruit.

You have referred, Mr. Chief Justice, to the distinctive part that Assam has played in the development of culture and tradition in ancient India. I shall not only endorse all that you have said but would also like to add that having for centuries remained an important limb of India, Assam has its full share of the greatness and glories of her hoary past. Assam undoubtedly made an important contribution in the making of India's personality and individuality that distinguished her as a country with few equals in the long history of the world. All the sacred names that you have mentioned, to which quite a few more could be added, indeed hearken to a glorious past. Let us think of that period to draw inspiration from it in our efforts to build up an equally great, if not greater, future.

As for Assam's natural beauty and the charms of its unsophisticated pastoral life, one has only to go round and hear the melodious music of the murmuring hill torrents and rivers and see the beauty of its yawning valleys and lush green dales. Over and above what Nature has given to this State, are its picturesque people, gay in spirits and never failing to respond to their artistic environments. Throughout history, the people of Assam have been known for their friendly traits and personal charm. Let me take this opportunity of paying my tribute to them today.

I have to thank you, Mr. Chief Justice, for the kind words you have been pleased to say about me in respect of the building up of our Constitution. If we were able to accomplish that monumental task, giving the best of consideration to the minutest detail, within less than three years, the credit goes to the Constituent Assembly of India which spared no pains in giving free India a Constitution which represents our lofty ideals and our traditions of secular democracy.

It has, therefore, given me great pleasure to see your High Court come into being, and now to associate myself with it in a most memorable way by laying the foundation-stone of its building.

ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS*

It has given me great pleasure to be with you today. I have long been looking forward to an opportunity to visit your island. I had heard about the beauty of this island and about the people who inhabit it, and I am glad that it has been possible for me to see this with my own eyes by meeting so many of you today. It is a matter of regret that on account of the distance, the contact that exists between your island and the mainland is not as close as it should be; but I hope that henceforward our contact will be closer and you will have visits from other persons from the mainland.

You have observed in your address that your life is simple and that your wants are not many. Within the short time that I have been here, I have observed that myself. I am glad to find, however, that the health of the people of this island seems to be quite good; and although you do not grow any cereals here, you are none the worse for that in the matter of your health. Nature has given you plenty of fruits and fish, and these suffice to give you good nutrition. The tall cocoanut trees not only add to the beauty of this place, but are also the main source of your income; and I am glad to be assured by you that the arrangement that has been made for the export and sale of cocoanuts satisfies you. You may rest assured that the Government of India will always be ready to give such assistance in the disposal of your products as may be necessary. I am glad you are also satisfied with the arrangement that has been made for the supply of goods that you require at reasonable and fair prices.

In India we are trying to establish a Welfare State, and naturally, being a part of India, you will also have your share in it. The objective of Welfare State is to make the people happy and comfortable in their lives. We are trying to establish that kind of society in other parts of the mainland. Fortunately, many of the problems which we have to face there do not arise in your island. Here you have one kind of homogeneous population, and as far as I have been able to judge, you are all living quite happily as a family. You have your community life which helps you in not only

* Speech in reply to welcome address presented at Lapati by the people of Car Nicobar Island, 13 March, 1954.

keeping each one individually happier, but also in managing things in the public interest.

You have Bishop Richardson as your representative in our Parliament. He will be always there to represent anything which you wish to be represented to the Government, and I am sure the Government will always listen to your demands with the attention and respect which is due to you. The Government is pledged to give every part of the country the kind of administration which suits the people of the area concerned. We have got a democratic form of Government in which every man or woman of and above the age of 21 years is entitled to vote for membership of Parliament and the local Legislatures. Although Bishop Richardson has been nominated for the time being, I am sure if there had been an election, you would have voted for him. Because of the smallness of your population and because of certain reasons of administrative convenience, it has not been possible yet to extend the right of vote to these small islands. There is no doubt that the time will come, and that too before long, when everyone in this island also will have the right of vote as everyone on the mainland has. We are anxious to help every part of the country and you may rest assured that your requirements will be attended to.

I am grateful to you for the characteristic way in which you have been good enough to receive me. Ever since the moment I landed, I have received nothing but love and affection from all of you. I was pleased to visit your school and to see its working. It has given me great pleasure to listen to the children singing Hindi songs and giving Hindi recitations. It was a still greater pleasure for me to have received your Address of welcome in Hindi. Hindi, as you know, has been adopted by our Constitution as the language for all-India purposes and you have done well to start learning the language now. This will give you an advantage not only in the matter of contacts with people from the mainland, but also in securing Government jobs for those who care for them. I hope you will utilise the opportunities which are now offered for your betterment.

In conclusion, let me repeat that we shall always be prepared to listen to and try to meet all your requirements. Treat yourself as one with the rest of the country. Your place there is assured and I have no doubt you will take advantage of that. I thank you for the kind words in which you have addressed me and for the hearty welcome which you have given me. I thank you also for your very kind presents, which I shall greatly value.

IMPORTANCE OF THE JUDICIARY*

It gives me great pleasure to participate in this afternoon's function of laying the foundation-stone of the building which will house the Supreme Court of India. The Supreme Court came into existence under our Constitution on January 26, 1950. But like many other institutions it had its predecessor in existence, the Federal Court of India, which was established in 1937. Ever since their establishment, the Federal Court and latterly the Supreme Court, have both been holding their sittings within the premises of Parliament House. As is well known, Parliament House was designed originally for the purpose, and it still serves the purpose, of housing the Supreme Legislature of the country. It was only on account of the exigencies of time that accommodation had to be provided for the highest tribunal in the land within those premises. The inconvenience and the insufficiency of such accommodation have long been felt, and it also found expression from time to time. It is a matter of gratification that we can now look forward to a date when the Supreme Court will have a habitat of its own where it can transact its business with comfort and dignity and also enable all those who have business with the Court to perform their functions with equal ease. I am hoping that the structure which is going to arise on the foundation which is being laid today will be worthy of the great institution it is going to accommodate. I trust there is ample provision for additions and alterations later, as need arises. Unless there is such provision, I am afraid it will be difficult to keep pace with time and we may find it more difficult to add to or alter the building than even to amend the Constitution!

As is well known, our Constitution is a federal constitution. It was prepared at a time when we had the advantage of similar and other constitutions, written and unwritten, of various countries of the world before us. An attempt was, therefore, naturally made to incorporate in it what was considered best and most suitable for our people. With the vast variety in many matters of vital importance that we have in the country at large, a Federation was an absolute necessity, which could not be avoided even if anyone desired to avoid it. We, therefore, necessarily have delimitation and demarcation of jurisdiction between State and State and the Central Authority.

* Speech made at the foundationstone-laying ceremony of the new building of the Supreme Court of India, New Delhi, 29 October, 1954.

Legislatures, both Central and State, are supreme in some respects, but have limited or no jurisdiction in certain other respects and naturally it sometimes becomes a matter of dispute as to whether a particular matter falls within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Central or State Legislature or within the concurrent jurisdiction of both. The Constitution lays down a set of fundamental rights which may not be ordinarily encroached upon by the Legislature, whether Central or State. There are some other non-justiciable rights which though not enforceable in the court are still considered as fundamental to the policies of the State. We have also a large volume of litigation as between one individual citizen and another or between a citizen and State. All these are matters in which, in some form or the other, resort to courts is had for interpretation of the law or for safeguarding the rights of citizens. The Supreme Court being at the apex of a system of courts of various grades spread all over the country, has naturally to serve not only the entire population and all the States and the Republic, but also has a very wide jurisdiction in respect of all justiciable matters which may be brought before it. In matters constitutional, it has of course the original jurisdiction of deciding constitutional disputes. It has been made the guardian of the fundamental rights under the Constitution. It serves as a Court of Appeal against decisions of High Courts and has other supervisory jurisdiction over all manner of judicial matters.

Its responsibilities, therefore, are immense and the country naturally looks up to it to uphold the Constitution and the rights of individuals and States, and to do right by all manner of people without fear or favour, affection or ill-will. Its task has been made not less difficult by the fact that our laws, customs and usages have, during the last 150 years or so, drawn very largely upon the jurisprudence of western countries, particularly England. Our legislation during that period has been modelled very largely on English law and the interpretation put upon many of these Acts has been influenced not a little by considerations and principles which were essentially applicable to English conditions but were adopted in this country as being based on rules of natural justice and fair-play. Our Courts, particularly the High Courts and especially the Supreme Court, still function in an atmosphere of British precedents, although in many matters light has to be sought from other sources, as for example, from the United States judgments relating to matters which do not ordinarily arise in England on account of the supreme

sovereignty of Parliament but which do arise in America and some of the Dominions on account of the federal nature of their constitutions. That the Courts in British India were able to establish a tradition of independence of the executive, of justice and fairplay, not only as between individuals and individuals but also between individuals and the State during the British period of administration, speaks volumes for the high traditions of the British judicial system and those associated with the administration of law there. In framing our Constitution, we have deliberately attempted to give to our Courts complete independence so that not only may justice be done, but also that everyone may feel that justice has been done as those administering it are independent and honest people who have discharged their duty without fear or favour or affection or ill-will. That is the great safeguard our Constitution provides against disruptive elements. Let me hope that the Supreme Court will continue to function in an atmosphere of supreme independence and administer justice to all.

Within the few years of their existence the Supreme Court as also the High Courts have had to deal with constitutional questions of great importance, in which the validity of laws passed by legislatures has been questioned, executive action of Governments challenged and protection of rights of individuals as against the State sought. As must be expected, that part of the Constitution dealing with fundamental rights has come up for discussion on numerous occasions and the courts have not hesitated to give their decisions against the Government. There may have been occasions when some of such decisions have caused inconvenience or have even been instrumental in holding up matters considered as of supreme importance by the Government. But it must be said to the credit of all concerned that all such decisions have been accepted and given effect to. The Supreme Court has got no agency of its own to enforce its decisions which have to depend upon the State and Central Governments for execution. It is a matter of congratulation that all such decisions, even where they have gone against their own wishes and policies, have been given fullest effect to by all the parties concerned. That establishes the supremacy of the law and, I am sure, I am not exaggerating the effect of this when I say that we could not have hoped for a stronger or better proof of the stability of our Constitution.

While the fundamental rights have defined the rights of individuals on the one hand, they have also declared that all laws

inconsistent with these fundamental rights are void. On the other hand a right to sue and be sued has been reserved in certain matters and one curious case has come to my notice to which it is worthwhile drawing attention. Under the English Rule of Common Law, the King can do no wrong and so a tortious act committed by a servant of the Crown in the discharge of his duties, gives no cause of action to the sufferer. This has been adopted and regarded as a part of the law in India for about 100 years or so, and although in England, where the doctrine originated, the Crown Proceedings Act, 1947, has abrogated it, it has been held in this country to be still applicable because of certain provisions in our Constitution relating to suits and proceedings whereby rights to sue or to be sued are preserved to or against the Union of India or the Government of any State. In this particular case a man driving in his own motor car suffered collision with a truck of the Defence Department of the Government of India. He was under some arrangement able to get compensation for damage to his car but when he claimed damages in a Court of Law for injury to his person, the suit was held to be barred by the rule that the State could not be sued for the tortious act of its employee, the truck driver, and it was dismissed on a preliminary objection and the Court could not get an opportunity to pronounce on the merits of the case as to whether the driver was to blame or not. The question has not come up, as far as I know, before the Supreme Court, but it raises a fundamental issue as to whether even after the New Constitution has come into force, we are bound hand and foot by rules of foreign law whose applicability was not quite clear even before on account of their artificiality.

My own feeling is that in all such matters, while precedents may be of great value in deciding disputed points, courts cannot afford to ignore the demands of natural justice and have to go behind them, if so required.

Another matter which I think deserves consideration both from the executive and the judiciary is that each should be careful and cautious not to give any room for suspicion that it is in any way encroaching upon the jurisdiction of the other. The division of functions of the State does not, and ought not to mean any conflict between the various organs. They are all the organs of one entity, the State, and each has its own functions to perform which it should be free to perform and in the performance of which there should be no interference by any other. While, therefore, we may accept as a maxim of great validity the power of the courts to interpret the

law so as to serve the purposes of the State, it should never be treated as a justification for creating new laws by courts under the guise of interpreting existing laws. On the other hand, there should be no attempt on the part of the executive or the legislature to usurp the function of the court. The legislature, representing as it does the sovereign will of the people, has to interpret that will in a suitable form by enacting legislation. In a progressive society, the popular view is also constantly changing and so what the legislature considers just and reasonable today may be considered unjust and unreasonable in the future. The laws have therefore to undergo changes and such changes can be brought about only by the legislature. But once the law has been so enacted, it should be the duty of the court to see to it that it is enforced and naturally it follows that it has to interpret the law as it stands in order to enforce it. There is a tendency, however, which is not altogether invisible, to lay down provisions in Acts ousting the jurisdiction of courts to interpret the law and leaving it to the executive to determine the meaning of the law so enacted. While this may be necessary in certain circumstances, particularly on account of the complexity of procedure resulting in law's delays, it should not ordinarily, and except in rare cases, be resorted to as a means of avoiding inconvenience to the executive arising out of their anxiety to see things proceed quickly and at the same time not being able to scrutinize the laws promoted by them with the care necessary for eliminating all such risks and inconveniences.

I have no doubt in my mind that the fundamentals of our Constitution are sound and the way in which the various organs have functioned gives hope of its stability. I have confidence not only in the ability and the integrity of the judges who adorn the High Courts and the Supreme Court, I have also confidence in the judgment of our people who, I am sure, will take a commonsense view of all problems facing them and enable their representatives to deal with them in the best way possible. There is, and there should be, no conflict and I am sure I am expressing the considered will and opinion of the country as a whole that the Supreme Court will continue to be the buttress which supports our freedom and the foundation of the structure which I have laid today is only symbolic of the foundation of justice and fairplay which are embosomed in the hearts of our people.

SINCE INDEPENDENCE*

It has given me great pleasure to be with you this afternoon. I recall a previous visit to this place some years ago when I came here and also saw the ruins of Hampi. I have been touring around the country for the last five years as President and I have visited many of the States, and I imagine many important places, but the country is so vast and the places of interest so many that it is not possible for anyone to visit them all. It is, therefore, a matter of pleasure to me if I am able to visit a particular place, and more so, if I am able to visit it a second time. I want to talk to you today about the progress which India has made in many fields since independence. But my regret is that I cannot talk to you in your own language. I was thinking whether to speak to you in English or in Hindi. I know most of you will understand neither of these languages and will have to depend upon the Kannada translation of my speech. I have decided to speak in English because we found some difficulty in getting an efficient translator of Hindi into Kannada.

You know our Constitution has laid down unanimously and with the consent of all concerned that in fifteen years' time all all-India work will have to be done in Hindi. We have been extremely fortunate in that, most of the difficulties which we thought insoluble before were solved with the consent of all when the Constitution was being drawn up, and the decision about Hindi was typical of decisions taken in respect of all controversial questions.

You know that we obtained our Independence in 1947. We then had very many problems of a very complex nature. Some of them had been left behind as legacies by the British. Just before they gave us Independence, they gave independence to 600 odd Princes who ruled in parts of the country also. They relieved them from all obligations which they owed under treaties, sanads and various kinds of documents. The result was that each Prince was able to accede either to India or to Pakistan or to declare himself an independent Prince. There were many who feared that India would break up on account of this, and at times it seemed that there would be difficulties which would be more or less insuperable. But fortunately for us, we got the Princes to accede to India. They were patriotic and farsighted enough to see that their independence could

* Speech at a public meeting at Hospet, 21 June, 1955.

only be secure in the context of Indian independence. To secure the independence of both, it was necessary that they should become a part of India. Indeed there was nothing strange in their thinking like this because God has made this country from the Himalayas to the seas one, and therefore everyone living in this country naturally looks upon it as one nation. Although we have differences of religion, language, customs, manners and modes of living, there is one underlying unity which pervades the whole land. It is because of this unity that the Indian Princes joined British India. It was not merely a process of accession; it was really integration with India. Few persons could have imagined in 1947 or even in 1948 that in less than two years' time all these native States would come into line with the rest of the country in constitutional matters. Today, there is no difference between what used to be a State and a British province.

In spite of the fact that India has been partitioned and two big chunks of the country have been separated from it, residual India is bigger than what it ever was under one rule in history. When Bankim Chandra Chatterjee wrote his Vande Mataram song in the last century, he talked of 30 crores of Indians. Today we are nearly 38 crores, and that in spite of partition and in spite of East Bengal and West Pakistan. Therefore, what we have now got is a country big enough for us to work in, to live for and to aspire to a place in the comity of nations. This was one great difficulty of a constitutional nature which we overcame.

As a result of Partition, we inherited other problems of a very grave nature. Nearly 50 lakhs of people came from West Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Sind into India. Similarly, from East Bengal more than 30 lakhs of people migrated to India. It has been no easy task to receive such large numbers and to arrange for their immediate relief and rehabilitation. It is difficult for you all here to imagine what the difficulty was in 1947-48 in a place like Delhi. Lakhs and lakhs of people had to be lodged in camps, to be fed, to be looked after for more than a year or two. Even today we have more than a lakh of persons in camps in Bengal. Fortunately, persons who came from the Punjab side have been in a way rehabilitated by now. Perhaps, you do not know that in the Punjab and Sind vast areas of land were irrigated. Sikhs and Hindus owned large tracts of such irrigated land. The Hindus also owned large number of factories and workshops. They were highly educated and were leading in all learned professions. They

had a large number of big institutions built and supported by public subscription. Crores worth of property vested in these public institutions. Soon after partition, the Hindus and the Sikhs had to come away from Pakistan leaving all this behind. Persons who were millionaires till yesterday suddenly turned into paupers. It has not been possible to restore to such persons all their wealth and property which they enjoyed while they were in Western Pakistan. But what we have succeeded in doing is to settle them in some place or other giving them some land, a house, or other things to carry on their business so that they could earn an honourable living. It is a matter of gratification that the people bore all this suffering with courage and fortitude, and I never saw a man begging alms. If, therefore, we find today that, to a certain extent, the people of West Pakistan have been rehabilitated, it is because they owe it largely to their own efforts and their courage and manliness. We cannot yet say that we have achieved the same result in the case of persons coming from East Pakistan. There are many reasons for it, one of them being that they came later than those from West Pakistan, and even today, migration from East Bengal has not ceased. During the last few months about 25,000 persons a month have been coming from East Bengal. Government is anxious to solve this problem as well, and for the purpose our Rehabilitation Minister has made Calcutta his headquarters. The Government has already spent more than Rs. 285 crores on relief and rehabilitation and it is determined that it will not allow the work to suffer for want of funds.

Apart from the problem of refugees, we were faced with serious food shortages on the eve of independence. It was the aftermath of the Bengal famine of 1943. The whole country was affected by this problem. We had to import huge quantities of foodgrains from foreign countries. In the South people are not used to taking wheat. We could not get rice, and they had to be content with wheat. Thank God, not one single soul died of starvation due to famine in those years. The difficulty was not only in getting foodgrains from foreign countries but also in distributing them within the country itself. The railways and other means of communication had been so much overstrained during the war that they were not able to cope with the additional traffic involved in the heavy movement of foodgrains from one part of the country to another. But, as I have said earlier, that difficulty was somehow faced and faced successfully.

After independence, the Government was also called upon to lay the foundations of a Welfare State. The first essential of such a State is to see that everyone gets food, clothing and shelter. Everyone is provided with facilities for education and medical relief, and everyone gets the opportunity to rise to the highest he is capable of. With this objective in view several steps were taken. One was the drawing up of a Constitution. Our Constitution enshrines within it the principles of a Welfare State. It guarantees to every citizen liberty of life, liberty of profession, liberty of religion, liberty of speech and every other kind of freedom which a human being needs, irrespective of his religion, sex and age. But it is not enough to put these things on paper. We must provide the necessary facilities to enable everyone to enjoy them. We have, therefore, been preparing a series of plans to make the people's life a bit happier, specially of the poorer sections of the community. Our irrigation and industrial projects are meant to serve the same end. Work on one such project is also being carried on in your midst. I have come here specially to see the progress that it has made. You will be happy to learn that there are many of such projects spread all over the country. We hope people will be benefited immensely when all these projects are completed.

While drawing up our Plans, we have not forgotten the small industries. It is these industries which flourish in the villages and which provide employment to millions and billions of men and women who cannot get any other kind of employment. Therefore, while on the one side we are trying to develop the big multi-purpose projects and large industries, we are also trying to help, encourage and rehabilitate the small village industries. The Government is also directly participating in the development of some basic industries like iron and steel. At present we produce only about 10 lakh tons of steel. Within the next three or four years we hope to have factories which will give us at least four times as much. Two factories which will produce at least 10 lakh tons are already under construction. A third is under contemplation, and the details are being worked out.

It has been felt that for improved agriculture manure is required. For this purpose a very big factory has been established at Sindri. It produced fertilizers. When the factory started production a little over two years ago, some difficulty was felt in the initial stages in disposing of its produce. Our agriculturists have now understood the value of the fertilizer. Today there is such a big

demand for this product that we are going to have at least two or three big factories in the country in the near future.

I told you that our railways suffered terribly during the war period. We had, therefore, to import a large number of engines and wagons. During the last few years, not only have the railways been completely rehabilitated, but they have started manufacturing most of the things which we previously imported from abroad. We have now factories which produce engines and wagons for the broad gauge as well as the metre gauge lines. It is hoped that in the near future we will become completely self-sufficient in these lines. While all this has been achieved, we have also been able to lay and open new railway lines.

So you can understand that we have made all-round progress. Our position in the outside world has also improved very largely. We did not have a single representative in any foreign country before 1947. India was supposed to be and was in fact a part of the British Empire, and as such had no independent existence of its own in the eyes of other countries. Since 1947, we have not only our ambassadors all over the world and the ambassadors of other countries in Delhi, but our advice is sought by many countries. I do not know of any other country which within a period of seven years has risen from a dependent status to such heights in international matters. The foreigners who come and visit this country and go round and see things for themselves are full of praise for us. More than that, the policy of peace that our Prime Minister has been following has been appreciated and approved by all countries. He has been telling the world that there is no way out of conflict except the way which Mahatma Gandhi taught us. War settles no questions. It creates new problems. What many people do not understand is that preparation for war can never end war. When the first World War was fought it was proclaimed that it was a war to end war. But it only led to the second world war. The second world war has led to preparation for a third world war, and the third world war is going to be a total war which threatens annihilation. All these years the scientists and the Governments have been engaged in discovering and perfecting weapons of destruction. Such weapons have reached a stage never dreamt of before. Everybody feels that war should be avoided, but none has the courage to say that it should not be fought and there should be no preparation for it. All countries have been asked to join one camp or the other so

that they may get some kind of protection in case of war. But it is forgotten that the countries which depend on others for protection will be the first to be destroyed. Our Prime Minister has had the courage and the foresight to tell the world that this is not the way to prevent war. All countries must realise that the way out of war is to live and let live. His policy was at one time misunderstood. He and our country came in for a lot of misinformed criticism. This has not altogether ceased even now. But there is a better appreciation of the position now. More and more people are beginning to realise that the course he has suggested is the only right course. He is, these days, as you know, in Russia. He is visiting some other countries also, and I have no doubt that when he returns, he will return with a glory which will be a proud heritage for all of us.

Therefore, I request friends who are critical of our Government to think of all these things. Not that our Government has been able to achieve everything it wished to achieve. None is more conscious of its failings than the Government itself. It is fully aware of the thousands of things which it wished to do and has been unable to do. About many of these things there is no difference of opinion between the Government and its critics. There is no wisdom in ignoring what has been achieved and emphasizing only what has not been achieved. When the history of these times comes to be written, say a hundred years hence, the historian will say that India was able to achieve in seven or eight years what no other country achieved in that short period at any time in history. Above all, we have always to bear in mind that we got our freedom after a long time. It is a very valuable thing and we have to preserve and protect it at all cost. Nothing should be done which in any way tends to hamper the growth of the country. My business is to go round the country and tell the people to preserve this freedom and to help people to achieve what they want. The field is open to everyone. Today every citizen of this great country enjoys the opportunity to rise to the greatest heights. I hold the position of President by your choice. There is no reason why any one of you cannot reach that position.

There is no question of North or South, Hindu, Muslim or Christian, of man or woman. It is open to everyone who is born in this country, who is its citizen, to attain any height. But,

remember that nothing can be achieved without work. Everyone of you has to work. That work has to be found by yourself. It should not be work only for yourself but for the country as a whole. If everyone works for the country as a whole, the net result is that everyone works for himself also, and that is my request to you. Think of the country and be prepared to work for it.

NEED FOR NATIONAL OUTLOOK*

Let me begin with a word of thanks to you all for the very warm welcome which you have extended to me ever since I landed here last evening from my aeroplane. You have rightly pointed out that I have visited this place more than once. I can tell you that I feel a sense of joy and happiness whenever I happen to come towards the South and particularly to the southernmost place in the country.

We have a large country spread over nearly two thousand miles from north to south and more or less the same from east to west, and within the bounds of India we have got every religion that at present exists in any part of the world. We have quite a number of languages which are spoken and understood, although the number of languages which have a written script and a rich literature is not as large. We have different customs, ways of life and modes of doing things, but behind and underlying all this variety, we have a running thread of unity which binds us all and which has held us together through ages since time immemorial. We have had many calamities, invasions and even conquests of this country by outsiders. But, in spite of all revolutionary changes, the country socially and culturally has remained one, and continues to be one. Today, it is also politically one. There is one government which governs the whole country, allowing of course for autonomy in the States. We have thus attained now what was not attained before, I

* Speech in reply to the Civic Address by the Trivandrum Corporation, 1 February, 1956.

mean, cultural and political unity. It is a great achievement which our generation has seen. In times to come when our children's children will read the description of the phase which we have seen and gone through ourselves, they will remember it with a sense of pride and thankfulness. We have therefore a great responsibility also. We have undoubtedly had very difficult times since we attained independence, but through God's grace we have managed to get through them practically unscathed.

At the time we were rejoicing the advent of freedom, the country was passing through a most critical period in the wake of partition. Let us hope these unhappy events are now only a matter of history which will soon be forgotten. We have since managed to unify the country. On the eve of Independence, we had, apart from what were known as provinces in British India, a large number of States which were ruled by Indian princes. Some of these States, like yours, were quite enlightened, but in many others there were conditions of a sort of primitive absolutism. I do not know, but those who were not friendly to us might have thought that with the departure of the British, India would break up not only into Pakistan and Hindustan, but also into a large number of small principalities, all warring against one another, as had not infrequently happened in the past. Fortunately, through God's grace, through the wisdom, farsightedness and statesmanship of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and through the patriotism of the princes, India has become one; and today the writ of the Republic runs over a larger area than ever it did in the past history of countries. We had the empire of the Hindus, we had the empire of Indians who were Buddhists, we had the empire of the Muslims, and lastly we had the British empire; but not one of them could have claimed to have ruled effectively over the vast territory which is now governed under the Constitution of India by the Republican Parliament, and it is therefore a matter of gratification and congratulation. But let us not become complacent about it. Our Republic is only eight years old, and our democracy too, at any rate in the modern sense, is not older than that. Eight years' time is too short a period for either a Republic or a democracy to attain that kind of maturity which can raise it above care or anxiety. We have, therefore, to be vigilant to protect our liberty and maintain our unity, so that each one of the States constituting our Republic feels happy and contented, and the people as a whole are prosperous both physically and spiritually.

Our great heritage is neither material goods, nor material prosperity, but a kind of contentment which is born of spiritual satisfaction. Let us not therefore minimize or forget the value of this spiritual heritage. It has given India a peculiarity of its own. It was not an accident that Gandhiji was born in India or that he worked in India or that he adopted methods which were peculiarly Indian or that he succeeded without arms in wresting freedom for us from a mighty empire which was armed. It was because spiritualism was there in our blood and in our bones. It enabled him to disarm us, and to make us walk on the narrow path of non-violence in spite of the violence of the other side. We have therefore to be careful to preserve the spirit of non-violence in thought and deed. If we do that, I am quite sure, all will go well.

I said just now that we should not be complacent about our freedom. I also said that our Republic and our democracy are still very young. We recently had a most disturbing exhibition of what narrowness can create in our midst. People who have been working with Gandhiji could little imagine that small changes in the boundaries of States would create such upheavals as we have witnessed during the last few weeks. Let us hope that this is the last of that kind of narrowness which the country has seen. It is for every one of us, in whatever walk of life one is situated or whatever work one is engaged in, to see that we develop a sense of oneness and unity and that we do not mistake the wood for the trees. The trees will not last if the forest is destroyed. The country alone can preserve the States, and no State, however good, however strong, however well-knit, will be able to survive if the country as a whole gets shattered into pieces. We have, therefore, to be vigilant and cautious in our thought, word and deed.

Speaking as I do in the southernmost part of India and coming as I do from the northernmost province of India, I can speak for the whole length and breadth of this great country. I ask you, living near the Cape, to believe that the areas at the foot of the Himalayas are yours, and permit me, living as I do at the foot of the Himalayas, to treat Cape Comorin as mine. Unless we develop this sense of unity and patriotism, and subordinate local, parochial, caste and communal considerations to the consideration of the country at large, we may lose the freedom which we have attained and our democracy may have a short life. This is a warning which recent events have given us and let us take it seriously. I can only hope that the people will rise to the occasion and the foundations of

democracy which have been laid in our country will prove to be strong. Whatever disturbances were witnessed in recent months will prove like a foam on the waves of the ocean which do not touch the bottom at all. Like a foam they were dirty and let us hope they will soon disappear. Let us all make our own contribution, however humble, to make the country worthy of its past and worthy of a greater future.

LACCADIVE ISLANDS*

I am very happy to be here today amongst you. I had long been looking forward to this visit. It is true that many people have not visited these islands and none of the Viceroys ever did this. But those were days when other people ruled over us. Since we have gained our freedom, we are trying to establish contact with every nook and corner of the country and to meet the people wherever they may be. It was in pursuance of that policy that the Governor of Madras, Shri Sri Prakasa, visited this island some time ago. When I read his report, I made up my mind to come and meet you all.

I have listened with respect and attention to your address and to the demands which you have put forward. I understand that the question of establishing some means of communication between these islands and the mainland is under active consideration and I trust now that the administration of these islands is going to be taken over by the Government of India, we shall be able to look after you better from Delhi. It is not that the Madras Government was not playing its part, but we trust that, communications being a Central subject, we would be able to do something better. I do not personally see any difficulty in having some sort of telegraphic or wireless communication between the mainland and these islands

* Reply to Welcome Address by the citizens, 8 February, 1956.

and I can assure you that the matter will be taken into earnest consideration early.

The proposal to have regular steamer service between these islands and the mainland is, I am told, nearing completion. When the preliminaries have been settled, there would be a service which will regularly come and go between these islands and the mainland. You have rightly pointed out that in the absence of such means of transport you find difficulty in the disposal of your own goods and the import of what you require here from the mainland.

I am told by the Collector that an attempt is being made to introduce amongst you improved methods of coir-making. I hope and trust that it will not lead to any restriction in employment but will help to improve the quality of your products. There is always a risk in the introduction of machinery. It may lead to unemployment or under-employment. Therefore, while efforts should be made to help every individual to improve the quality of his coir, nothing should be done to reduce employment.

I am sorry to learn that filaria and leprosy are prevalent in this island. I am glad to notice that the Welfare Association has started a small colony for those afflicted with the fell disease of leprosy. I am told that there are many who are living with their own families who are also afflicted by the disease. People may not realise that it is a very infectious disease and any contact of persons who have been affected with others may result in affecting those people who are otherwise safe. If sufferers from this disease could realise how they could be helpful in removing this contact with others for keeping them safe and free from the disease, it will be a good thing for them to do. I have asked the doctor who looks after the colony to advise all sufferers who are living with their families to come and stay in the colony even if they are fed and maintained by their own families. Such a course will be in the interest of those who are free from the disease and who are their own near and dear ones. I am glad that steps are being taken to distribute medicines to lepers. Leprosy can be and should be eliminated. But that can be done if there is co-operation between people and those who are in charge of welfare work.

As regards filaria also, I am told that it is possible to eliminate it but it is a long-drawn out process. When I am talking about this disease, do not imagine that they are peculiar to you alone. They

are prevalent all over the country and similar steps are being taken elsewhere also.

God has given you very rich land which can grow this cocoanut and I am glad that you utilise every inch of the land that is available. That is as it should be. I am making a note of all your requirements and shall pass them on to the proper authorities for necessary action and you may rest assured that steps will be taken to remove such of your grievances as can be easily removed.

I thank you for the welcome you have extended to me.

AMINDIVE ISLANDS*

I am very glad to be here with you this morning. You are living in an island apart from the mainland of India. You are not only separated from the mainland but also from the other islands. In each island there is a small population. That is responsible for many of the difficulties with which you are faced and also for the Government not being able to do as much for you as it would wish to do. But efforts are being made now to bring you up in line with other parts of the country.

I have noted what you have said in your address about the Government trying to do its best to help you in every possible way. The question of establishing some means of communication and of having some sort of regular service with your islands is now under active consideration. There are some obvious difficulties. In the first place there is not as much traffic as one would like to have for a regular service. Then weather conditions are to be taken into consideration. I am hoping that all these difficulties will be surmounted and there will be, at no distant future, some sort of a regular service connecting your islands and the mainland. I would myself place this matter before the Government of India and suggest to them to take speedy steps in the matter.

* Reply to Welcome Address by the citizens, 8 February, 1956.

I have seen your little school and have been pleased to see your children quite gay and happy. I understand that the standard of that school is also going to be raised. Students from other islands will also come and stay in the hostel which will be established within a short time.

Yesterday, at the Androth island, I was very sorry to learn that leprosy and filaria are prevalent there to a very great extent. It is fortunate that although you are not quite free from those diseases, their incidence is very much less here than in that island. The doctor who will be stationed here will be able to look after the people who are suffering from leprosy and treat them. A certain stock of medicines has just been handed over by me for that purpose. It will be replenished from time to time. I am also told that effort is going to be made to establish a hospital with about a dozen beds. But I would suggest to you not to depend on a hospital so much as on the free air and free life that you get in this island. Maintaining health is much better than curing a disease. You should try to prevent disease and not to fall ill. The doctor will also help in teaching you how to live cleanly so that you may not fall ill.

One friend just put a question to me about religious freedom. I can give you this assurance that the Government allows everyone to follow his own religion, whatever it is. This freedom of religion is guaranteed by our Constitution. So you may rest assured that there will be no interference with your religion on behalf of the Government and if anyone tries to seduce you and tells you the contrary, you should not believe him.

The Governor of Madras was here last year. I have come here this year. This indicates that your interest and welfare are being taken care of by those who run the Government. You on your side should also feel that you are part of India and your welfare is tied to the welfare of India. If on your side you show loyalty to the Government, the Government on its side will always keep in mind and promote your welfare.

It has given me great pleasure to go round and meet so many of you in these two islands. I shall be carrying with me sweet memories and your good wishes to the mainland and shall leave you with a message of hope. All that is possible will be done for your good.

THE PUBLIC SERVANT IN A DEMOCRACY*

When I was asked to participate in this afternoon's function, I readily accepted the invitation. Not that I know much about the Association, but then, I felt, there was a call which I could not very well refuse. I was asked to unveil the portrait of Shri V. T. Krishnamachari. I have been working with him for the last few years in one capacity or another. He has given off his best to the service of the country in various capacities, and even today, at an advanced age, he not only maintains his great interest in work, but applies himself in a most assiduous manner to every detail of his job. At the present moment, he is dealing with planning, the work of a most exacting nature. One needs to talk to him only for a few minutes to find out how he keeps his grip on every detail of the various plans which are being now worked out either in the Secretariat of the Government of India or of the various States. From his present method of work, one can imagine what he must have done when he was very much younger and when he was entrusted with the administration of one or the other Indian State or of the districts in India. We wish Mr. Krishnamachari many many years of useful service to the country and to the cause to which he has dedicated himself.

It is also a matter of pleasure to me that you have asked me to lay the foundation-stone of a block for the hostel of the Indian Officers' Association where many boys of the future will have the opportunity not only of studying but also of coming in contact with those who are actually engaged in the administration of this country.

When the members of the Constituent Assembly were engaged in drawing up our Constitution, and in the process were faced with many problems, one of the most important of them was, which of the Constitutions of the world to adopt as their model. It was not without a great deal of thought and deliberation that they decided in favour of the British Constitution. One of the most important features of this Constitution is that there is separation of functions of those who lay down the policy and those who are responsible for executing it. This feature has been adopted in our Constitution and it forms the basis for the division of work between our Ministers

* Speech on the occasion of the unveiling of the portrait of Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, Government of India, and of the laying of the foundationstone of the "Rashtrapati Block" for the hostel at the Indian Officers' Association, Madras, 13 August, 1956.

and the civil servants. Ministers may change but the civil services remain at their posts to carry out the policy of the Government. It is, therefore, a matter of great pleasure that the services do understand this position. The Ministers, being new to their work, may sometimes make mistakes, but it is for the civil servants to advise them correctly so that the mistakes which may arise out of inexperience may not be perpetuated to the detriment of the country.

When power was transferred to us, there might have been some people who doubted our capacity to maintain the administration. Such persons suspected that we might also have a repetition of scenes which were enacted in similar circumstances in many other lands.

One of the great things which the British did for us was to give us a well-knit, well-organized and well-experienced body of civil servants who were spread all over the country and who, in the absence of everything else for the time being, were holding the country together. I do not exaggerate when I say that I do greatly appreciate the help and assistance rendered by the services in the difficult days of 1947 when we had a tremendous exodus of people from one part of the country to another. I do not know where we would have found ourselves if the services had failed us on that occasion. Not only in the Punjab, but in other parts of the country as well, the transfer of power from British to Indian hands was effected smoothly. Even in the most distant villages, the authority of the Government remained firm and the peace and tranquillity of the land was preserved by the efficient system of administration left behind by the British. We have, therefore, every reason to be grateful to the services. But it is now time that they render even greater service than was done by them in the past. Times have changed; our ideals have changed. What we propose to do now is somewhat different from what they have been doing so far. In the present period, which may be called a period of transition or resurrection, we have to depend even more on the services for a great deal which we wish to achieve. For, as Mr. Menon pointed out just now, formerly our Government was more or less a police state; now it is gradually on the road to becoming a Welfare State. Formerly our services were primarily concerned with the collection of revenue or the maintenance of law and order or the administration of justice. Now they will be called upon to undertake new and exacting duties like those of Managers of dams, river valley projects, industrial undertakings, insurance, banking, etc.

These functions are already being performed by the Government. I do not know how many more of such jobs will be taken over by the State and manned largely by our services. While we are always on the look out for talent outside the services, we have largely to fall back upon the existing personnel, whenever there is difficulty. As you know, soon after gaining independence, we had to create a new department under the Government called the Foreign Affairs Department. For filling posts even in this Department, we had to recruit many people from existing services. And I hope, I am correct in saying that, in this and several other new tasks which we have lately entrusted to our services, we have been fully satisfied by their performance.

It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that the services constitute the foundation-stone of the Welfare State. They provide the base on which the superstructure of the government is built. They may not be in the limelight; their names may not always appear in the newspapers—although in India this does happen very often, nevertheless, they perform the most essential functions of the State. I have no doubt that, in future, as the work grows, the services will rise to the occasion and will discharge their duties with as great effectiveness as they have done in the past.

THE UNITY OF INDIA*

I am thankful to you all for the kind reception which you have given me and for the enthusiasm with which you have greeted me during my drive through the city. As you have said in one of the addresses which has just been read out, this is not my first visit to your city. I have been here more than once, and on each such occasion I have received the same kindness which was shown to me this afternoon. When I became the President of the Congress in 1934, I made a rather exhaustive tour of these parts, and in spite of the fact that I come from a State which is at the foot of the

* Speech at a public meeting in Madurai in reply to the civic reception, 16 August, 1956.

Himalayas and you are more or less near the tip, I never found myself a stranger in this place. I always felt that I was one of you and I flattered myself with the belief that you also regarded me as one of you.

The sense of oneness pervading in our country, from one part of the country to the other, needs to be re-emphasised in the context of the heated controversy we have had on the question of the re-organisation of States. We should not think that our unity is a matter of course and it need not be thought of or cared for. It should not also be imagined that it is capable of bearing all kinds of strains to which it may be exposed. The fact is that our unity, although very ancient and well-rooted, needs to be nurtured and strengthened, at least at the present moment. We know that although our cultural unity is ages old, it failed to give us political unity, and we succumbed to foreign invasions times without number. Fortunately, now we have attained political unity also. Under the circumstances, it will be easier for us to reinforce and preserve our cultural and political unity. But politics plays havoc occasionally, and it is necessary to beware of it.

Let us not, therefore, imagine that this political unity does not require our careful attention from day to day. Imagine, what would be our state if this political unity were to be lost? As it is, India is the second biggest nation in the world. With the exception of China, there is no other country which has got such a large population and is governed by one Constitution and ruled by one set of Ministers. I do not think there has been another instance of an election in which something like 180 million people were enfranchised. A second general election will be coming during the next few months. In this age numbers count more than anything else. India, with more than 360 million people, can play a great part in the world today. But imagine what will happen if we were again to be separated, one from another, and instead of having one India we had a number of independent States. In *Kali Yuga*, it is said, 'Unity is strength.' It is therefore necessary that today we, who are 360 million people, stand united as one man. Unity does not mean dull uniformity. A distinctive feature of our nation is 'unity within diversity.' Here in these parts women are wearing jewels. Each little bit of stone that is there has its own value and its own position, and yet the whole jewel is something different from individual stones. As a whole piece of jewellery, it is not only very valuable but much more beautiful. India is like such a piece of

jewellery with all its variety. Let us not break any of the stones which constitute the full jewellery. Each one of the stones must be preserved in its place, in all its glare, in all its beauty and in all its splendour. Then alone the whole jewellery will shine at its best.

There is no occasion for undesirable rivalries. We should all help each other in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill. I know that occasionally there are differences. That cannot be avoided. But we should try to keep them within bounds. They should not be permitted to destroy the fundamental basic unity of the country. Mahatma Gandhi used to tell us: "Be prepared always to give, not to take." This is true not only of individuals but also of groups and communities. If every group thinks of the other, there will be no group left unthought of. The trouble arises because instead of caring for others we think of our own particular group. The result is that the group alone tries to safeguard its interests and no outsider bothers about it. If each group were to think of others and not of itself, then each group will be thought of by all others except itself. This will make a difference. It is therefore necessary in the interests of the country that we think of the nation as a whole and not of narrow groups within it. This is all the more necessary in the present context when certain regrettable incidents have happened. I am hoping that this is only a passing phase.

Fortunately, you have had no such trouble here; I hope it will never happen in future as well. I am quite sure you will think of the country as a whole, for, you are in one corner of it, although a very big corner. If you look at the map of India from this corner, you will find that either you are at the foot or at the top. In whatever position, your responsibility is great. If you are at the foot, you have to carry the whole weight of the body; if you are at the top, the head has to share the burden. I therefore hope that you will never forget the country or ignore its interests. We are acquiring a new place in world affairs. Our Prime Minister has been devoting himself wholeheartedly to the maintenance of world peace. You can understand, with how much greater force, emphasis and authority, he can carry forward this mission if he is convinced that in his own country there is no trouble at all.

We are, at the present moment, engaged in working out the Second Five-Year Plan. The First Plan has proved to be more successful than we thought it would in the initial stages. Let us hope that the Second will be even more successful than the First. That can happen only if all the people co-operate in the working

of the Plan and put their shoulders to it. There are people who are trying to maintain the balance in different parts of the country; you can rest assured that they will not neglect the interests of any region. But there is such a thing as priority. Even when we go to the temple, everybody cannot get *darshan* at the same time; we have to go one after another. Similarly, when we go to a river for bath, it is not always possible for all to bathe together. To stand in the queue and to take your turn does not mean the neglect of any one. It only means that steps are being taken to see that everyone gets the opportunity. Unless this is done, equality of opportunity cannot be ensured. Similarly, in the matter of the Five-Year Plan, everybody has to be thought of, but not at the same time. And you may rest assured that no one will ultimately be neglected.

THE MYSORE STATE*

It is indeed a matter of great gratification to me that I have been able to come and participate in this function this afternoon. The question of reorganization of States has been before the public and the Government of India for some time, and it has led to a great deal of argument and discussion not always of a very pleasant character. But fortunately we have come to the end of the discussion, and today we are able to implement the Act which creates the new States more or less on a linguistic basis. The demand for the creation of linguistic States had been put forward by various groups and individuals for many years, and it has been claimed that the creation of such linguistic States would lead to a consolidation of the unity of India and would not in any sense work in the direction of disintegration or disruption. I believe that claim to be well-founded because I consider it is consistent with our whole life and tradition which has come down to us from time immemorial. In India we have always had the tradition of unity in the midst of diversity and that diversity has been recognized and encouraged, only

* Speech at the inauguration of the State of Mysore at Bangalore, 1 November, 1956.

subject to one condition, namely, the cultural unity of the country. Today we have advanced beyond the stage of mere cultural unity and have established in the country a system of government which is run under one single Constitution and one administration. It is the writ of the Republic of India which now runs through every nook and corner of India. Today, along with cultural unity which we have had for centuries in spite of difficulties, in spite of all kinds of political revolutions, we are now going to have political unity also. The demand for separate linguistic States is in keeping with this traditional system of unity in the midst of diversity, and I am one of those who have always believed that the creation of such States would strengthen the unity of India and would not create any difficulty in that way. It is now for all those who have believed in that kind of unity to prove by their lives, by their action and by their activities, that India is a stronger country now, after the creation of these States, that it is a more united country, and that it is in every sense a better country than the one which it is now superseding. To you, men and women of Karnataka, I say this: You have been demanding the creation of a separate State with all the Kannada-speaking people brought together; you have rightly had a grievance that you were split up into four or five units, each under a separate administration. Your demand that for the purpose of developing your culture, language and such other specialities, all these areas should be brought under one State was a natural and just demand. And I must congratulate you that while you have been firm and insistent in your demand, you never allowed yourselves to be provoked into anything undesirable in pressing forward that demand. It is, therefore, a matter of congratulation not only for you but for us also who come from parts of the country other than Karnataka that you have achieved this great objective by your silent and persistent efforts without creating any difficulty for anybody in the country. You have also certain advantages which other States, which are now being created today do not have. For example, you have a city like Bangalore as your capital city, which has been a capital city for many many years and which has thus got all the facilities, amenities and equipment that a capital town requires. You have also an advantage in having as your Governor a person who has intimate knowledge of the State and who has had experience of administration in more activities than one. You will have the advantage of his experience. You have also succeeded in securing a team of Ministers who from all accounts that I have heard

are a well-knit team and will be able to see to it that the responsibilities which are now being placed today on them are discharged to the satisfaction of all concerned.

As you have your advantages, you will also have your problems like other States—the problem of the integration of different parts which have now been brought together under one administration, and others. But I am hoping that with the good sense which you have always shown and which was shown also in the matter of bringing about this State, you will be able to tackle this problem as successfully as you have done others in the past. You have another advantage of developed industries in these parts, but that also brings the responsibility of developing them still further and of exploiting other resources which have not yet been touched and not yet been exploited. For all this you require men and women who will work wholeheartedly for the welfare of the State.

We sometimes seem to think that the work involved in getting rid of foreign rule in this country was a very difficult task and it required great sacrifice and great labour. That is true, but I believe the work which now devolves on all of us who are concerned with the administration of the country is no less difficult, and it requires no less sacrifice, no less devotion, no less application, and what is more, it demands all these not only of a small group of people but, in a Welfare State, of every citizen of the country. You have to prepare the people for the great task of building up this Welfare State in which we are now engaged, and you will have to secure from them all their cooperation and all their help. The Government cannot work wonders. Even a new State like the State of Mysore with all its great advantages cannot work wonders in a day, and therefore I should warn everybody not to be impatient if everything that is wished for is not achieved in a day; everyone should be prepared to work and work hard and to leave the results to take care of themselves. I am quite sure that if honest and earnest work is done the result will always be forthcoming and in ample measure. Therefore with all your advantages you have your responsibilities, and I have no doubt that you will be able to shoulder and discharge them with distinction.

Above all, in India, we have to remember our past history. On many an occasion we have failed in our political sphere not because our people, in groups, or as individuals, were lacking in any matter. They were brave, they were intellectually awake, they were otherwise quite fit. They were wanting in the spirit of co-operation, wanting in

a spirit of working together for a common cause, and on many an occasion we have lost not because the country as a whole deserved to lose but because we were unable to put together all our efforts and energies. This lesson has to be remembered today, more than it was needed ever before, because today we have launched upon a very high endeavour of building up a new State, a State from which poverty and illiteracy and disease will be banished, a State in which all will be well-looked after and in which not only shall we be able to serve ourselves but, through our non-violent methods, serve others too. Therefore our unity, our freedom, our independence, are of great importance to ourselves and to others, and the responsibility of preserving them is ours. Each one of us must feel that responsibility more than anything else, and everyone must be prepared to discharge that responsibility.

Your State, I am sure, fully realises it and will discharge it. I hope every citizen of the new State of Mysore will also feel that responsibility and discharge it. Let it be said that the new States which have been created and which are coming into existence today, together with the old existing States, will constitute an India knit together by unbreakable ties and knit together socially, politically, economically and in every other way. Let us pray that God will give us the strength, the wisdom and farsight to do what comes our way and to have faith in Him so that He may give us our full way and to have faith in Him so that He may give us our full deserts.

With these few words I wish you success in your enterprise. I bring to you best wishes for the welfare of your new State, best wishes for the good of the people who are brought together. I inaugurate the new State of Mysore.

TAMIL FESTIVAL

Inaugural Address

29 August, 1953

I must begin with a confession and an apology. The confession is that I am completely and utterly ignorant of Tamil and the apology is that I have not been able to learn it so far. That apology is made not only on my own behalf, but on behalf of all northerners in this country. We have been thinking of having a common language or rather a language which will be used for our national purposes. We are expecting and hoping that our brothers and sisters in the South will learn that language. Unfortunately, I have not noticed any similar movement in the North for acquainting ourselves with the language or languages of the South. I only hope that the people of the North will soon realise the great loss which they are sustaining on account of their not being acquainted with the literature that is enshrined in the languages of the South.

I have sometimes heard it said that there is an attempt to impose Hindi on the South. I can give you the assurance that there is no such attempt on the part of anybody. What we want is that you should, out of your own free will, and out of a realisation of its necessity for the nation as a whole, adopt this language for our national purposes. There is no intention in any way on the part of anybody to suppress any other language of India. On the other hand, we wish them all prosperity; we wish that they should grow and enrich the culture of the country as a whole; and I have no doubt that as in the past, one language will bind us all together. In the past there were difficulties of travel and communication, but in modern times when we have got so many new facilities for propagation, it should not prove at all difficult for the northerner to learn one of the southern languages or for the southerner to learn a

northern language; and if it is taken in that spirit, I have no doubt that the South will soon find it easy to beat the North. I say this from experience, because I have seen some of the southerners, who have been devoting some time to learn Hindi, speaking it with fluency and grammatical correctness; speaking it with not only fluency and correctness, but also with the accent with which, I must confess, I cannot speak the language myself (laughter). I have, therefore, no doubt that in course of time, if you only give your attention to it, you will be able not only to compete with the North but even to go ahead of them.

I have further heard that another kind of language which will also be called national Hindi will be developed. This language will be different from the common Hindi. I do not know if any such attempt will be made. We know that the attempt to have an Esperanto in Europe has not proved successful and I am not at all sure that an Indian edition of the Esperanto will be any more successful. I would, therefore, suggest that there is no reason to think that a new language will be developed. We all hope that everyone of you coming from the South, everyone of you speaking languages other than Hindi, will learn that language and make a contribution to that language. The Hindi of the future will be a language which is not the Hindi of the Northerner only, but it will be Hindi which has been fostered and nurtured by all Indians to whichever part of India they may belong. We want the Hindi language to be enriched by your own vocabulary, your own phraseology and your own idioms, and while the structure of the language cannot be changed, there is no doubt that the Hindi language can greatly be enriched by contact with other languages and by contribution from other languages, and that is what I am hoping for.

When the invitation was kindly extended to me to inaugurate this Festival, I thought I could not do better than come to you and beg of you to look at this question from the national point of view, and just as in the past the South made a tremendous contribution to the Sanskrit literature, so also in the future, I have no doubt, you will be making your contribution to the enrichment of our national language and to make this country greater.

With these words I have pleasure in inaugurating this function.

INDIAN MUSIC*

I am very happy to be present here today in connection with this Music Festival and to present awards to those who have been recognised as masters of this art. It was my great privilege to inaugurate last year the Sangit Natak Akadami sponsored by Government of India. It gives me great pleasure to associate myself with the first Music Festival organized by the Akadami.

Music occupies an important place in our lives. We in India have inherited a rich tradition in music as also in other arts. Our forebears looked upon music as one of the means of reaching spiritual heights. Therefore, they developed it almost to perfection. Whatever be our views on the functions of music in this age, we can hardly deny the great potentiality of music and its harmonizing influence. The harmony which music creates has its effect on the atmosphere and also on those who listen and sing. It was this deep-seated faith in the potentialities of music which made the people of our country assign it a very important role in our social and cultural life. There is hardly an Indian festival or any social occasion or a ceremony or ritual in which music is not assigned a place. From time immemorial we have learnt to appreciate music and to count it among the foremost achievements of man.

With the passage of time our tastes have perhaps undergone a good deal of change, but our traditional and classical music has not undergone any fundamental or essential change. During the period of Muslim rule in India, classical music received not only patronage from kings and nobles but underwent some modifications also to suit the times, and the music of northern India of today has adopted forms and expressions which are largely derived from and inspired by those times. But whatever these modifications in form and expression may be, they are only on the surface. The core and soul of Indian music have remained classical and it is still a living force. It is hoped that even now it possess the vitality and potentiality to adapt itself to changing times.

Classical music flourished in the exclusive atmosphere of the courts of Indian Rulers. While it is a fact that princely patronage kept the torch of music burning, it cannot be gainsaid that the general mass of Indian people have not remained in touch with it. Thus a

* Speech made on the occasion of presentation of awards to Musicians in New Delhi, 31 March, 1954.

gulf has come to exist between what is best in our tradition and the tastes of the people. If music in this country has to flourish, this obvious gulf between the most developed music and popular tastes must be bridged. If necessary, the classical forms of music should be adapted to present-day needs and the common man educated to appreciate what is good in it.

In republican India the princes no longer occupy the place which was theirs formerly. The patronage of music and other arts must, therefore, pass to the people or their Government. I believe this was one of the purposes behind establishing the Sangit Natak Akadami set up through the efforts of the Union Ministry of Education. Within this short period of one year reports have come about the establishment of branches of the Akadami and other similar institutions and it is my hope that in course of time branches of the Akadami or other similar organisations will have been established in all the States and thus sufficient encouragement given to music all over the country. In this democratic age it is necessary that every good cause should derive its strength and support from the people. I am sure the Akadami will endeavour to bring music out from the atmosphere of exclusiveness, making it possible for the common man to hear it and to react to it. Fundamentally sound and intrinsically uplifting as the strains of our traditional music are, I have no doubt that before long it will get the popular recognition necessary both for making it an integral part of our national life and also for saving our valuable heritage from languishing.

I wish the Sangit Natak Akadami success in its efforts to popularise music and congratulate all the musicians and artistes who have been recipients of special awards.

KANNADA CULTURAL FESTIVAL

Inaugural Address

15 April, 1954

I am thankful to the organizers of the Kannada Cultural Festival for their invitation asking me to inaugurate it, and welcome the

opportunity of adding to my knowledge of the cultural heritage of the people of Karnataka. On the basis of what I know of its contribution in the realms of literature and art, I should gladly endorse all that Shri S. V. Krishnamurthi Rao has said about it. You could legitimately feel proud of the part that Karnataka has played in building up what is known as Indian culture. As emphasized by him, Indian culture is undoubtedly one; but it is a composite culture, a collective concept, for the making of which every part of India has made its contribution according to its own peculiar genius.

I would like to say something about the principal characteristic of Indian culture, though it might seem to be a digression. One of these characteristics is the essential harmony of Indian culture, harmony which is not superficial, but which has gone deep enough to be evidenced in every texture of its fabric. Anyone who goes round and visits various parts of the country will be struck by the unity which pervades all the apparent forms of diversity. It provides a harmonizing influence sufficiently tangible to make Indian culture distinctive. It is, therefore, not surprising if someone from the North discovers unmistakable bonds of unity in the art of the South or a man from the South is struck by the community of design or motif between the temples of the South and those of the North.

The spirit of unity has manifested itself particularly in the sphere of fine arts like music, dancing, architecture, etc. About the last one, Sisir Kumar Mitra has said: "If architecture is the matrix of all arts and crafts, it is more so in India whose temples and cave-cathedrals with all the decorative beauty of their sculpture and painting are the very embodiment of the integral vision of art that came to the builders of ancient India. Evolved out of spiritual conceptions, they have stood through the ages as the principal visible and material record of the cultural evolution of the race, as the symbol of the unity of its godward aspirations."

Your language, Kannada, which is recognized as one of the regional languages of India, is indeed one of the oldest in the country. Spread over a period of about 2,000 years, it has a rich literature. The Kannadigas have also made valuable contributions to Sanskrit literature.

The South in general and Karnataka in particular may well feel proud of the fact that the great Indian renaissance in the eleventh and twelfth centuries emanated from that part of the country. This

renaissance which, in course of time, transformed itself into the Bhakti movement is one of the most significant events of Indian history of the middle ages. Madhvacharya who was born in Karnataka and Ramanujacharya who sought shelter there, were the two spearheads of that movement. One of the foremost results of this renaissance, which had its ramifications throughout the North, was a great religious upsurge which sought expression through devotional poetry. Hindi, which had been in a formative stage for some centuries received a great fillip on account of this upsurge. Even today the literature of the Bhakti era is the most valuable treasure of Hindi literature. In a way, therefore, we could say that in creating the conditions which enriched Hindi literature, South India played a great part. Bengali and Marathi, as they are spoken today, also benefited immensely from this renaissance. It was but inevitable that a spirit of unison and harmony should run through the art and literature of the various regions and their respective languages.

I am glad that the Kannada language, which suffered a temporary set-back for historical and geographical reasons in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has once again come into its own. You have now two Universities and a number of well-established educational institutions in the region of which Kannada is the language. Kannada has a strong Press and a well developed literature, rich in fiction, poetry and drama. I am happy to observe that in our struggle for freedom Kannada writers played a prominent part.

I need hardly assure you that your sense of pride and your achievements are widely appreciated outside Karnataka. The whole country has learnt to respect and appreciate the Karnataka style of music. Even in parts where Kannada is not understood, people listen to and enjoy this music.

I congratulate the organizers of this function on their decision to celebrate a Kannada Cultural Festival. Functions like this, apart from giving a high type of entertainment, are of great national importance. They provide an opportunity to speakers of other languages to come closer to regional literature and art. I particularly welcome the idea of holding such festivals, portraying the cultural activities of the South, in Delhi. I hope functions of this kind are organised in other parts of the country also. I believe that every State or region has something to give to others. Such festivals should be the right medium for give and take in the cultural sphere.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Cultural Festival.

EDUCATION THROUGH CINEMA*

Reproduction and multiplication of books and other things is one of the characteristics of modern age. If someone wrote a book in ancient times, the writer could have only one copy of the handwritten manuscript. If more copies were required, the whole thing had to be re-written in hand by a scribe, which was an expensive and an arduous job. Today, on the other hand, if we want reproductions of a book or a given event, we have at our disposal not only the printing press but a few other scientific devices. Multiplication of things in the present age appears to be a mere child's play. In earlier days if a good drama was staged and it happened to gain popularity, only those could benefit from it who were physically present when that play was staged. That is because the actors could not manage to be at more than one place at a time. Even if a play was re-staged, no one could guarantee that it would be rendered with the same skill and have the same effect on the audience as the original play staged earlier.

All that has changed today. Now we can have a play staged simultaneously at several places. We can have it cinematographed and in this way also reproduce the original voice of every actor. This is what is generally known as a film.

Cinema is a very powerful medium of projecting ideas. It can create excellent effect on the audience if it has wellgroomed actors, nice dialogues and conveys a good moral. But it is equally potential in its destructive powers if the characters are immoral so that their life, as portrayed in films, tends to degrade rather than raise society.

The capacity of the drama to do good or evil is limited in the sense that it can influence only those who see it enacted at one place at a time. But the capacity of the film is unlimited because of its reproductions and the large number of people who can see it any number of times at any number of places. It is, therefore, very necessary to be cautious in the production and use of films in order to ensure that they are utilized for the good of society.

Broadly speaking, cinema may be said to have three main objectives, namely, education, recreation and propaganda. All of these objectives are of utmost importance in our everyday life. Cinema can play a great part in the spread of education, provided it

* Speech on the occasion of the presentation of Awards for the best Feature and Documentary Films, 10 October, 1954.

is really educative and makes the right approach to pupils. While I am talking of education, I have not only child education in mind but also the education of the grown-ups. Education does not mean only literacy. It is much more than that. After all, books can give only a part of the knowledge which it is desirable for man to acquire. Far more than books, it is the experience, the contacts and the environments which go to constitute an individual's knowledge. Cinema can be a great help in acquiring knowledge from all these different sources, because it can extend to incredible limits the field of our visual and auditory experience. It is a truism that things which we see with our own eyes influence us far more than things which we hear from others' mouths. Things which we see on the screen may not be leaving as lasting an impression on us as things which we see in our actual life, but, nevertheless, scenes of the screen are more effective than descriptions read in print or heard through ears.

As for recreation, it is also of many kinds. There is recreation which besides being entertaining is also educative. There can also be something which is recreative but morally injurious. I cannot claim to have seen many films. Actually, I have not had many occasions to see them. But I am told by many a friend that quite a number of our films belong to the latter category, and that far from being a genuine source of recreation or education, they only stimulate sensuousness. Such films have a particularly bad effect on younger minds. May be that such films are more popular than others. It is also possible that such films may be more paying. It might be said by some that films are produced on a commercial basis and, therefore, the producers have to produce only what is in demand. It may also be said that the principal function of the cinema is to provide entertainment, in which case producers have to be guided by popular taste.

All these moot points might be adduced for the sake of argument. But I would like to point out to those connected with our cinema industry that if they want to render real service to the public—and I do believe it should be their ideal—all these arguments should be of little consequence to them. At any rate, these are secondary considerations. The primary consideration must be service of the people. No service can be real unless it safeguards the genuine interests of those who are sought to be served. I would, therefore, request film producers to ponder over this and ask themselves as to what their real aim is. The aim, as I said, has to be service of the

people, which is not incompatible with commercial success. But commercial success without service is hardly worth anything.

When one is guided by selfish motives, one may try to do something which is in one's own interest even if it is contrary to the interests of society. Society has to call such a person to account. The object of all the penal codes prevalent in different countries is to keep in check the tendency of the individual to gain at the expense of society. I feel our film producers should also evolve a similar code in the interest of society and the quality of their own production. I admit that in an ideal society there will be no need to have a penal code. By ideal society I mean a society in which every individual is so disciplined as to have full control over himself so that he does not require any extraneous pressure or fear to make him pursue the path of righteousness. So far, we do not know of a society of this description. That explains the need of a penal code in every country. Nevertheless, it goes without saying that the more reformed and wide-awake a society is, the less is its need for a penal code.

Sponsoring of films and their actual production, I take it, are jobs which can be undertaken only by enlightened and conscientious people. It will not be too much to hope that rising above purely personal gains they would always keep in view the good of society as a whole. If it is not so, I shall request film producers to keep this high ideal before them. Until such time as this ideal is achieved, I am afraid it would be necessary for Government, as the guardian of society, to exercise some kind of control over the production of films. Freedom is undoubtedly a great blessing, but it has its own discipline and its own limitations. Unless that discipline is voluntarily adhered to by all, freedom itself would be in peril.

I am glad to say that good many of our films are doing real national and constructive service, particularly those films called documentaries which are produced with the object of diffusing useful information and general knowledge. Some people might think that documentaries have not much entertainment value, but it cannot be doubted that they are highly educative. I should think that through the different media of recreation and entertainment it is possible to modify or improve popular tastes. I hope film producers will also agree with this view. We know of so many sports and games which make for physical fitness but which also inculcate the virtues of co-operation and mutual dependence. There can also be games which exhibit cruelty and ferocity and instead of bringing

these vices into hatred tend to make virtues of them. Similarly, I think the cinema instead of laying emphasis on sensuousness can portray and preach lofty ideals. I wish our film producers to serve the public and also get their legitimate profit; at the same time they should stick tenaciously to high social ideals.

The Government has given the desired encouragement to this art by deciding to offer awards to best films. In adjudging the quality and standard of films, the things I have referred to ought to be kept in mind. Our film producers should popularize an ideology which should make observance of these high ideals a matter of duty so that morality and social decorum might also come to mean popularity and commercial success. I know that all official controls and restrictions are irksome in their very nature, and those on whom they are imposed naturally start looking for devices for circumventing them. But if a restrictive measure has the sanction of public opinion behind it, the producers will themselves look upon malpractices as undesirable and strive to avoid them. This altogether obviates the necessity of controls. If any controls are imposed in such circumstances, they remain merely a dead letter and have seldom to be invoked.

I fervently hope that our film industry, which represents a growing and progressive art, will keep these things in view and that the producers will do all that is possible to remove the very basis of the complaints sometimes heard against films.

I congratulate all the recipients of today's awards. Let there be healthy rivalry and competition among all of you for producing films which render real service to the people and which bring them nearer to our cherished ideals.

PUNJABI CULTURE*

I am glad that the Punjabi-speaking citizens of the capital thought of holding this function. Lately we have had such cultural

* Speech delivered at the inauguration of a Punjabi Cultural Mela at New Delhi, 6 November, 1954.



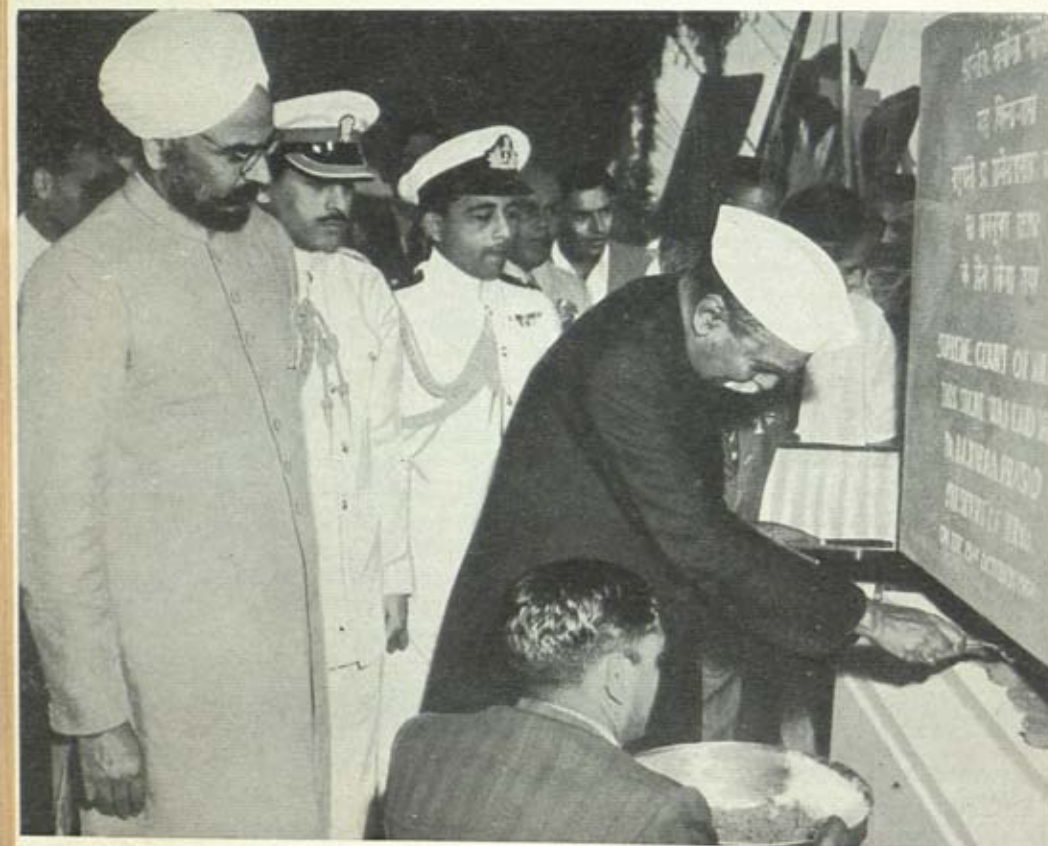
Welcoming UNESCO delegates at a function at the National Stadium, New Delhi



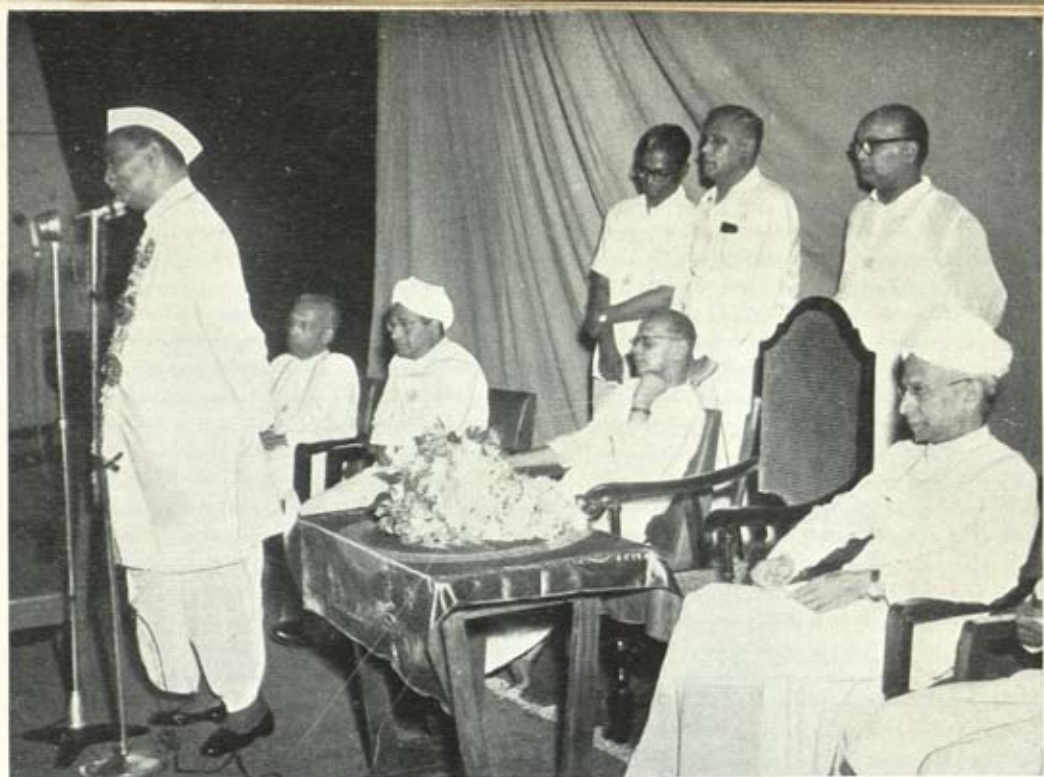
Speaking at a New Delhi gathering on the occasion of the inauguration of Andhra State



Opening a new wing of the Allahabad High Court



Laying the foundation-stone of the Supreme Court building at New Delhi



Inaugurating the Tamil Festival at New Delhi



Inaugurating the Kannada Cultural Festival



Inaugurating the Punjabi Cultural Mela at New Delhi

and literary festivals here of the people of other linguistic groups. The number of those who speak Punjabi is probably not less than that of any other single language group in Delhi. It would indeed have looked odd if the Punjabi population of this town had not thought of organising a Punjabi Mela. When I was told about it by Shri Gurmukh Singh Musafir and other friends, I gladly accepted their invitation to inaugurate it.

India is a country where many languages are spoken. Quite a few of them are rich and well developed. They have their own literature and their own literary traditions. On account of this variety in language and customs, we often call India a country consisting of several cultural groups. All these regional cultures and their respective traditions form the basis on which the edifice of Indian culture stands. It does not mean that Indian culture has no distinctive individuality of its own and it is merely a conglomeration of regional cultures. The fact is that as a result of centuries of mutual contacts and the process of constant give and take, a composite culture had long evolved with its own peculiar characteristics and beauties. Though, as before, the thought, customs and traditions of various regions are an integral part of Indian culture, yet the latter may be said to be above each one of them because of its distinctive individuality.

I know some people do not look upon the multiplicity of languages as an unmixed blessing. It is likely that in the past multi-lingualism may have encouraged centrifugal tendencies. It is also possible that this factor may have been looked upon as a challenge to the country's solidarity and unity. But all that has changed now. I would like that we review the situation in the changed circumstances. Luckily we have gone far ahead in this respect and the concepts of political independence and national unity have come to acquire a different meaning. The foundation on which Indian unity and solidarity rest today is so strong that the very forces which might have threatened it in the past are today capable of forging new links to strengthen it. All the units, big and small, of the Indian Union now enjoy complete cultural and linguistic freedom and we look upon the progress of every regional language and culture as an asset to Indian culture. In my opinion, this freedom, given to the various units of the Indian Republic by our Constitution, is not only the guarantee but also the touchstone of our success.

I would like to say a few words about the Punjabi language. Like other Indo-Aryan languages, Punjabi also started taking shape in the Middle Ages; and, again, like other sister Indian languages its sapling was also nurtured by the *vani* of great saints and religious leaders. This language has its own peculiarities and its own grandeur. Though modern Punjabi literature has developed mainly during the last one hundred years, a few Punjabi epics, which are a valuable treasure because of their literary excellence, were written some centuries ago. The poetic tradition as evidenced in these epics and Punjab's folk-songs are thus fairly old. I think it is our duty to keep this tradition alive and to improve upon it as far as it is possible.

For this reason I welcome the idea of convening such cultural festivals, because they help in keeping that cultural heritage alive. I am sure this Mela will be a source of entertainment not only to the Punjabi-speaking people of the capital but also to others. Apart from recreation, such festivals have also great educative value. In a place like Delhi which has a cosmopolitan population, such festivals provide an excellent opportunity of imbibing the spirit of co-operation and mutual give and take. I wish success to this festival of yours and hope that occasions like this will soon become a feature of our city and country life.

BASIC EDUCATION*

My interest in Basic Education, called *Nai Talim*, goes back to the day when Mahatma Gandhi convened a conference at Wardha for discussing this subject. A few prominent educationists and workers in the cause of national education had also been invited to attend this Conference. I have been in touch with the progress of this system of education ever since. I am, therefore, happy to have got this opportunity to come here and speak to you about what I feel about this problem, although I know I might be repeating the views

* Speech at the All-India Basic Education Conference, Sanosra (Saurashtra), 13 November, 1954.

expressed by me earlier. It is also likely that the views which I express are not in consonance with those of others, particularly of educationists. Besides, it is also to be seen how far my views fit in with the policy which is being pursued by the Central and State Governments in this connection and how far it is practicable to modify that policy. Therefore, I hope what I am going to say will be taken as my personal opinion and that you will discuss it as such with an open mind without fear or favour.

It will be agreed that the system of education, right from the first primary class to the highest university course, which we are following today, is the same as introduced by the British Government in this country. We have not been able to introduce any fundamental change in that system even after the attainment of Independence. It is pointless to blame anyone for it, because the peaceful manner in which the transfer of power took place made it inevitable that along with the governmental machinery and other things, the system of education should also come to us as a heritage of the old regime.

It is now our duty to give thought to each one of these problems and decide in the light of present-day conditions how they can be solved and then to act upon what we have decided. There is no doubt that in introducing this system of education, the principal motive of the British Government was to secure as much advantage as possible for establishing itself in this country. Apart from this, the Britishers also thought that as compared to their own culture and literature there was nothing much in Indian culture and literature which might be said to be worth preserving. There is no doubt in course of time their views underwent some change, but it was not fundamental. The progress of Science in Europe meanwhile confirmed them in their view that scientific education could be imparted only through the medium of English. Consequently, partly for the sake of administrative convenience and partly to propagate their own language and culture they stuck to their own system of education which they introduced in this country. There is no doubt that the education received by our earlier generations was based on this very system. Those people knew little of Indian literature or culture and hardly felt drawn towards it, although a few Indian scholars who were inspired by English education did study Indian literature and wrote a good deal in praise of it.

Thus we find two schools of thought in this country. The followers of one school believe that our own language alone can be the medium of education and until that is done, education is bound to remain confined to a small section of society and will never spread among the masses. The other school of thought thinks that in this scientific age our country cannot cut itself adrift from European thought and that at least higher education should continue to be imparted through the medium of English. If that is not done, they argue, we shall fail to pull our weight and lag behind other nations in the race for material progress. These views, as a matter of fact, apply not only to the medium of instruction but actually to the whole system of education.

Our people have responded more and more to the call of education during the last 50 years, and this is evident from the phenomenal increase in the number of educational institutions. In 1911-12, when Burma and Pakistan were also parts of India, there were 186 universities and colleges in India, as compared with 537 in 1948-49 though Burma and Pakistan had separated, leaving India smaller in area and population. The number of secondary schools in 1911-12 was 6,370, whereas the corresponding figure for 1948-49 was 14,342. Again, while in 1911-12 the total number of students studying for Intermediate, B.A. and B.Sc. was 31,947, the number of M.A. and M.Sc. students alone in 1948-49 went up to 2,14,677, out of whom 23,058 were girls. As many as 62,495 students graduated from Indian universities in 1951-52. In the years which followed, I think, this number has gone up still higher.

It is clear from these figures that there is a wide-spread demand for educational facilities. This demand is no longer confined to towns alone, but is evident among people of the rural areas also. One result of this spread of education has been that many educated people find themselves unemployed. Government jobs and service in private undertakings offer limited openings for the educated. Only a small fraction of successful scholars can be absorbed in them. A large majority of the educated are averse to taking up their parental occupations. As a result of their education, they have lost the capacity to take up those occupations and they are not equipped to follow any other either. The only result of this process has been increasing unemployment and subsequent discontent, indifference and a pessimistic attitude towards life among a large section of the educated people. This is a dangerous trend for the country. Let us, therefore, discuss today how far the present system of education,

which is spreading at such a speed, on which we are spending so much and which is turning out a large number of "educated" boys and girls, is useful and capable of meeting the challenge of present-day conditions.

Mahatma Gandhi, who had anticipated all this, thought that this system of education which is so expensive would not do, if education was to be brought within the reach of every Indian, rich or poor. He, therefore, thought of a new system of education which has come to be known as Basic Education and which Indian and foreign educational experts have declared to be highly useful. According to Gandhiji, as far as I understood him, there are two basic merits in this new system. Firstly, education under this system is imparted not merely through books but through some kind of practical work so that the knowledge which children acquire will not be the result of mere memorising but of actual experience. He thought, and some of the leading educationists were at one with him, that knowledge acquired in this way created a degree of consciousness, efficiency and a feeling of self-reliance, all of which would come handy to one when starting life. Secondly, the other merit in this system, according to him, is that it brings education for all within the pale of practical possibility, because the handicrafts on which children would be working would bring some return in terms of money, which would go, at least in part, to meet the expenses of their education. He was convinced that unless young scholars made this contribution towards their own education, universal education in India would never be possible.

The result of all the discussions and experimentations in the field of education during the last 16 or 17 years is, in my opinion, the same that we arrived at in our discussions in the first Conference held at Wardha. Educationists had admitted the utility of the new system but considered children's contribution towards their education as not only impossible but undesirable. Our experience, on the other hand, has demonstrated both the utility as well as the practicality of the system. My remarks are essentially with reference to primary and secondary education. Little has been done so far to apply this system to higher education. It is not, therefore, possible to say anything about it on the basis of experience.

In spite of all that has been done in this field so far, it is a pity that this system has not received the encouragement which it deserved and which we could have given it after achieving Independence. As far as I can say, the reason is that although the utility of the

new system has been proved, our faith in the old system of education remains unshaken. That is also why most of those who are engaged in the work of education have not given much thought to the new system. All that we can say is that even today the new system has not gone beyond the experimental stage. Our Government has not decided to popularise it as a part of its constructive programme, let alone doing anything practical for it. I know that in the various conferences we have had so far, resolutions have been adopted in favour of it and Government agreed that the new system should be adopted, but actually it has not been done. Consequently educational institutions of the old type are daily increasing and whatever budgetary provision Government makes under the head "Education", is spent mainly on keeping the old system of education intact. Naturally, the new system has received little encouragement. My own view is that unless fundamental changes are made in the current system, the sad state of affairs that we see today will become sadder. The feeling of discontent among the educated and their utter dissatisfaction with life will continue to grow. I would, therefore, urge that all those concerned with the education of children—our educationists, universities and the governing bodies of colleges and schools, education ministers, etc., should give not only theoretical consideration to this problem, but do something practical to change the present system of education. Unless this is done the problem would become more and more complicated.

I am very happy that the Talimi Sangh has been carrying on its work undeterred by difficulties. I cannot say that its activities have influenced educational trends in the country to any considerable extent, but I must admit that whatever is being done by it is of great value to the country. Its usefulness would be realised when, sooner or later, compelled by circumstances, we shall have to introduce fundamental changes in the system obtaining today. At that time the experience acquired by workers of the Talimi Sangh will come handy. As I said earlier, our experiment in the sphere of primary and secondary education has been successful and we can confidently recommend the new system to our countrymen at these two stages. We cannot say the same in respect of higher education in view of the inadequacy of our experience. Therefore, I attach great importance to your work. I hope the unfavourable atmosphere will not detract your workers and they would continue to do their job.

I remember sometime in 1924 Shri C. Rajagopalachari said in his convocation address to the Bihar Vidyapith that such national educational institutions were like flickering lamps, reminding us of the days when the non-co-operation movement was at its height. I admit that the schools run by the Talimi Sangh are no better than flickering lamps, but I insist they are of great importance, not because they are a reminder of the good old days but because I think even one flickering lamp has the capacity to light thousands of the lamps to carry the blessing of light to a thousand dingy corners. Therefore, I insist on keeping these flickering lamps lighted. I look to them with hope, waiting for the day when their quivering flame will become steady and shine, illuminating the whole country, giving it new life and new inspiration.

Mahatma Gandhi did not put all his beliefs at one place in book form, but undoubtedly there was a sort of universality which characterised them. Education had a top place in his thoughts, since it is through education that ignorance and backwardness in India and the world can be removed. My appeal to you, therefore, is that you should continue your efforts in spite of all the handicaps and discouragements and wait for the day when the practical superiority of this system will be recognised and it will be accepted and established throughout the country.

With these words I thank you all for giving me an opportunity to speak of the basic things about our system of education.

INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S ART EXHIBITION

Inaugural Speech, 27 November, 1954

I am very happy once again to be here to inaugurate the International Children's Art Exhibition, which has now become an annual feature of the Capital's life. Associated as I have been with this memorable venture ever since its inception, I feel that there cannot be many institutions here or elsewhere which could

show a record of such steady progress and popular enthusiasm as this exhibition. Yet, when one sees that behind this venture is the genius of one of the foremost cartoonists and humorists of our times, one can understand the great popularity that this exhibition has gained. Shri Shankar Pillai, who has sponsored this exhibition and whose efforts have made it an international event, is himself an artist of no mean repute.

Even at the risk of repetition I would like to say that this Exhibition of Children's Art is truly international in character as is evident from the long list of countries whose children have sent their specimens of art to be exhibited here. It is indeed a happy augury that so many countries have responded to the organisers' invitation. It is a tribute, I take it, as much to the interest of those countries in the advancement of art as to the efforts of the organisers.

Art is an antidote to an attitude of exclusiveness and selfishness. That is why it is said that all the higher arts are essentially chaste and have a liberalising influence on men. They purify the thoughts as tragedy purifies the passions. It can thus be well imagined of what great value art can be to us today. In the domains of science and material prosperity, modern man has made stupendous progress, but to reap the fruit of this advance of ideas and multiplication of resources, he must needs have the human touch springing from a truly catholic mind.

And this the cultivation of art alone can impart. Without some such balancing force, I am afraid scientific advance will ever remain a mixed blessing and a thing of dubious value for us. Therefore, I think that never before was the harmonising influence of art more necessary for the world than today.

When we think of art in relation to children, its value is doubly enhanced. It provides an excellent outlet for their growing talents and the exuberance of energy in them. The educative, aesthetic, sublimating and ennobling influences of art strike a straight and spontaneous responsive chord in the hearts of children. Your effort in popularising art among children will thus have a far-reaching effect on the coming generation. Let us hope that it will help in creating a generation which will be greater, happier and nobler than the one to which we belong. Let us devoutly wish that our goal of having amity and harmony among nations of the world will be brought nearer realisation as a result of such activities, which this International Exhibition of Children's Art is doing so much to promote.

I wish the sponsors of this Exhibition the best of luck and hope that as the years pass, it will grow into an institution of international importance, at least for the children of the world.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Exhibition.

MALAYALAM ART FESTIVAL

Inaugural Address, 9 December, 1954

It gives me great pleasure to be present here today to inaugurate the Malayalam Art Festival and to witness it. I have had occasion to witness similar festivals organised by other cultural groups and to say a few words about the importance of such gatherings and their bearing on the cultural life of the country as a whole and on Indian unity, in particular.

When I received the invitation to inaugurate this function from kind friends of Kerala, I could not help wondering how the thread of unity, woven in centuries, if not millenia, by mutual contact and community of interest, thought and outlook, had strung together into a beautiful pattern the diverse regional cultures of this ancient land. This diversity portraying the peculiar characteristics and traditions of different regions has given Indian unity a remarkably subtle and kaleidoscopic effect. The whole panorama of Indian culture is dominated by the rich diversity provided by different regions, and yet the concept of Indian culture is so unmistakably clear and unique that as a whole it can never be equated with the culture of any single region nor the latter mistaken for what is known as Indian culture.

If we give some thought to this question we cannot escape the conclusion that vast and variegated though our country is, in course of time certain ideas have permeated the whole length and breadth of our land so well that long distances and differences of climate, language and customs appear to have counted almost for nothing. The myths and legends of snow-clad Himalayan regions in the North are made of the same stuff as the legends of

far off Kerala in the South. To a large extent, I believe, it is the two great Indian epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, which provided common links in the realm of thought, literature and social customs of the various regions. It cannot be said to be purely accidental that literary activity in nearly all the Indian languages, particularly the languages of the North, East and the West, which were then in a formative stage, began with local translations of the two epics or parts thereof. Even in the case of the Dravidian languages the classical tradition began only with the popularisation of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* through local media. It is a significant fact that in all our languages the first fruits of literary effort were either translations of these epics or independent works based on the themes of the epics. That being so, it is not at all surprising that there is a thread of unity visible to any discerning eye, binding in one pattern the literatures and arts of the various regions.

Kerala, as one of those linguistic and cultural regions, has its own customs and traditions of art and literature. I understand that its language, Malayalam, has a rich literature in which the various parts like novel, drama, poetry, etc., are well developed. One of the greatest cultural assets of Kerala, I am told, is its dance drama which is based on stories from the epics and which has acquired great popularity on account of its liveliness, its artistic appeal and the picturesque costumes of the actors and actresses. As for the *Kathakali* dance which has made Kerala famous in the world of art, nothing much need be said. *Kathakali* is acknowledged by all connoisseurs of art as one of the finest expositions of Indian dancing. Similarly, the people of Kerala have distinguished themselves in the field of music, painting, architecture and other fine arts.

I welcome the idea of holding such cultural festivals, representing far flung regions, in Delhi, which apart from being a cosmopolitan town is, in a sense, the heart of the North. It is not only desirable but also essential that the people in this part of the country should know as much as possible about the art and cultural traditions of our southern-most State. I only wish Northerners also held their art festivals in the South, if only to complete the process of give and take. I have no doubt that those who witness this festival will find much of interest in it.

I wish the Malayalam Art Festival all success and hope it will stimulate the interest of the non-Malayalees in the art and culture of Kerala and also provide an opportunity to Malayalees to enrich their literature further.

THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE*

I am very happy to be present today in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, which is one of those Indian centres of learning which have acquired international fame and attracted scholars from quite a few foreign lands. During the last 48 years or so, this Institute has done much not only to keep the torch of oriental scholarship burning but also to raise the status of India in the world of research and learning. In the eyes of many in this country, and I dare say outside India, this Institute has during the last four decades stood for systematic and valuable research in a field which had more or less remained unexplored till the late Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, the great pioneer of scientific Orientology, took it in hand. Your Institute is a fitting memorial to the learning and pioneering work of that great scholar.

The trail which Ramakrishna Bhandarkar blazed and which many illustrious scholars who followed him kept illumined, has been responsible for reviving a tradition centuries old but long forgotten. Since the very dawn of history in our country, Sanskrit has been the principal medium in which the Indian genius found expression. To have revived popular interest in that language and to have systematized its study in accordance with present-day needs, is a task of historic importance. I am glad to observe that the Bhandarkar Institute has played the most prominent part in accomplishing this task.

The scholars of this Institute are known to be proceeding about their work so scientifically that every activity of the Institute, particularly its many publications, have come to be looked upon as the last word in thoroughness. Whether it is the study of old manuscripts or annotation of a highly abstruse work of literature or the dry and taxing work of lexicography, the Bhandarkar Institute has never failed to bring to bear its fastidious standards of efficiency and thoroughness on it.

By virtue of its outstanding work in the field of oriental learning, soon after its foundation, this Institute attracted orientalists from Indian universities and other educational institutions for inspiration in that branch of learning and it served as a model for the oriental institutes started in other parts of India. There is little wonder that

* Speech on the occasion of his visit to the Institute at Poona, 19 December, 1954.

Sanskrit scholars and orientalists all over the land have not only looked to it for help, guidance and recognition, but also come to regard Poona, where it is situated, as a great centre of oriental learning. There can be no doubt that your Institute has richly deserved all these tributes from far and near.

I might refer, in passing, to one of your most valuable publications, the critical edition of the *Mahabharata*, the great Indian Epic, which has perhaps inspired a larger number of poets, play-wrights and writers than any other single book, we know of. By bringing out this valuable publication the Bhandarkar Institute has done a great national service and opened up new avenues for free India's future writers and thinkers.

I am sorry, though I am not surprised, to know that financial stringency has often given you cause for concern and prevented you from extending the work of research and publication to the extent you envisaged. It is indeed painful that an institute like yours which is doing a work of outstanding importance, should feel compelled to curtail its activities because of inadequate funds. Let me hope, however, these difficulties, not altogether unknown to academic institutions, will not cow down your spirits, as happily they have not done so far. In the changed political atmosphere in our country, I am sure, your Institute will receive greater recognitions both at the hands of the public and the Government, which should mean greater appreciation of the work you are doing and more liberal help to you in carrying it out.

I thank you all for having invited me here and for having presented to me the volumes of the *Mahabharata*, which I greatly value.

PAINTINGS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Inauguration of Exhibition

16 June, 1955

It was a happy idea on the part of the Academy to organise this exhibition of the paintings of poet Rabindranath Tagore. As

you have rightly pointed out, he is well-known throughout the world as a poet, as a great composer, as a singer and as a dramatist. But he is not so well-known as a painter. It is not because his painting does not deserve to be known but because, as had been rightly said, throughout his life he had not got that opportunity to become known as a painter. I am no judge of these things but from what I hear and what you have said, I can confidently say that in the matter of painting too, he occupies the same kind of position which he occupies in the matter of poetry, drama and music. He is one of those rare souls whose mere touch ennobles the thing that he touches. If he touched poetry, he ennobled it, if he touched music, he ennobled it and last of all, when he touched painting he ennobled it also. So it is a good idea to have organised this exhibition, which I am sure would not only familiarise us with his paintings but will go a great way in familiarising the world with his paintings. I hope you will be able to organise such exhibitions in other parts of the country and elsewhere also so that people may see for themselves what his paintings are, and also may be ennobled by it just as they are ennobled by his poetry. With these few words, I inaugurate this exhibition.

SANT TULSIDAS*

Tulsidas, whose anniversary is sought to be celebrated through this function today, was an epoch-making poet and devotee. In the field of poetry his genius and extraordinary capacity to compose raised the level of the common folk's language, getting it a place of prominence. In the field of *bhakti* and devotion his fathomless faith in Rama instilled hope in the Indian society at a time when many had given themselves to despair and hardly knew what to do. He toned up the entire atmosphere of North India with his personal example and devotional poetry. His renowned work *Ramacharitamanas* infused love of Rama in the hearts of millions once

* Speech at the inauguration of Tulsi Jayanti at New Delhi, 20 July 1955
(Speech read by Dr. Radhakrishnan on behalf of the President).

again and the faith born of devotion awakened social consciousness and changed the general attitude towards life to such an extent that it could, without exaggeration, be described as society's complete metamorphosis.

I believe that is the reason why poets occupy such a high place not only in human society but also in history. Besides being great thinkers, poets wield remarkable influence on the people by virtue of the capacities which poetry bestows on them. This also explains why without necessarily being very near to the people, poets get to be popular leaders. For depicting realistically, yet in an interesting manner, the conditions prevailing in their times, and for blazing the trail for the common people with the help of their genius and imagination, poets have been called seers and epoch-makers from the very dawn of history. Indeed, Tulsidas has a place among such seers and epoch-makers. Millions of unlettered people are familiar with his works of poetry, particularly the *Ramacharitamanas*. The great stream of devotion and *bhakti*, which emanated from him, benefited the educated and the uneducated alike. Considered in this light, Tulsidas was undoubtedly a people's poet.

From another point of view also, Tulsidas can be called a true leader of men. If one were to compile a list of such books as have influenced millions of men, generation after generation, and which have made a palpable impress on the beliefs, attitudes and the mode of life of millions, without doubt, Tulsidas's *Ramacharitamanas* will have to be counted among such treatises. The theme of this epic has been a part of the common man's life for over 300 years in this country. Although the original writer of the *Ramayana* was Valmiki and it was his story which was rendered into popular language by Tulsidas in the North and the great Tamil Poet, Kamban in the South, yet the story told in the *chaupais* and *dohas* of *Ramacharitamanas* has received such universal recognition that Tulsidas might well be said to have faired one better than Valmiki.

The anniversary of such a great poet and devotee is something like a national festival for us. The poetry of Tulsidas is so sacrosanct that it could not be a thing for any particular time or clime; in fact, it transcends them both. Nevertheless, Tulsidas's anniversary should have special significance in Free India. Tulsidas's life and writings are an integral part of that traditional thought and culture on which India prides so much. It has indeed been our good fortune that whenever our nation is under eclipse, great saints

and seers are born in this country. If in spite of a long and chequered history, we are still a living nation and have always been able to get the better of the clouds of all-pervading darkness, it is because of the teachings and good wishes of these noble souls. It is the duty of every Indian to bow in gratitude to these great men and to seek inspiration from their lives to tread the path of righteousness.

For all these reasons, therefore, I heartily welcome today's function. I want that at least in the Hindi-speaking regions, where *Ramacharitamanas* is read and understood, Tulsi-Jayanti should be celebrated with due éclat and enthusiasm. Let me hope that in course of time *Tulsi* will be read and appreciated more and more widely among the people, and his anniversary will take the form of an important national festival.

OUR NATIONAL LANGUAGE*

The Ministry of Education has organised this Exhibition on Hindi to enable the public to have some idea of the work done and progress so far made in popularising Hindi. This Exhibition will, I am sure, give to the public some idea about the measure of success achieved in the spread of Hindi, while at the same time it will enable us to know the ground which still remains to be covered in order to implement the constitutional position in respect of the replacement of English and switching over to Hindi. The various charts, maps and pictorial panels displayed here will facilitate an appraisal of the task accomplished and of what remains to be accomplished. Hindi text-books for children and adults, covering various subjects taught in schools and the work done so far by various official and non-official agencies in non-Hindi-speaking areas should be of practical interest to visitors. A number of standard Hindi publications on science, political science, history, etc. have also been included among the exhibits. Useful as this Exhibition will be, I would

* Speech delivered at the Hindi Exhibition organized by the Ministry of Education, New Delhi, 12 August, 1955.

suggest that there is scope for a more comprehensive collection of Hindi publications so that a correct idea may be had as to the advance made in making the study of advanced subjects possible through the medium of Hindi.

The question of Hindi in general and the various details about the process of replacement of English by it, have raised a controversy in certain sections of the Indian population. I believe it would be unwise not to make a genuine effort to meet the points raised by those who might be harbouring misgivings, rightly or wrongly, on this account.

Without repeating here the arguments which led the Constituent Assembly of India to adopt Hindi as the State language for all-India purposes, I would like to say that Hindi was unanimously adopted as the language which should in course of time replace English not because it was the most advanced of the languages of India but because it was the most common and most widely understood of them. Having agreed on this point, we had to decide what had to be done to enable Hindi to take the place of English in the administrative and other public spheres of the country. Besides suggesting some measures to that end, the Constituent Assembly stipulated that within 15 years of the promulgation of our Constitution Hindi should replace English in the agreed spheres.

After five years of the working of the Constitution, we have recently appointed a special commission in terms of our Constitution to go into the whole question of the replacement of English. As the terms of reference of this Commission would show, this body is free to make whatever recommendations it likes to the Government on all the aspects of the language problem, including the time-table of replacement. I would suggest, therefore, that we let the Commission apply its mind to this problem and suspend final judgment for the time being pending the preparation of its report.

As for the first point, namely, the question whether Hindi has made sufficient progress during the last five years to enable it to replace English ten years hence, I would commend to you the various progress reports issued by the Ministry of Education as also this Exhibition which the Ministry has been good enough to ask me to inaugurate today. I shall content myself with pointing out that the Government has been proceeding on a plan and statements on the progress of Hindi have been placed before Lok Sabha year after year. I feel, the fact that a good deal of work remains to be done to get for Hindi the title and status of a *de facto* State language, need not

depress anyone of us. Actually, in so far as this offers an opportunity to all sections of the public to enrich Hindi and influence its growth, it might be welcomed. The State language, as it has been defined in the Constitution, admits of borrowing of words from all the regional languages of the country.

I would like to address a few words to our brethren who speak regional languages other than Hindi, particularly the people of the South. No one can minimise the importance of a language for those who speak it. Language wields a tremendous influence on man right from his childhood. Some of the regional languages of this country represent a tradition in thought and literary development, which is a matter of pride for the whole country. While deciding to have a State language for replacing English, every possible care was taken to ensure that nothing was done to prejudice directly or indirectly the growth of the regional languages. As a State language, the use of Hindi will be confined to certain well-defined spheres of activity, leaving the other languages to have full sway in their respective regions. I have often said, and I believe that fact can bear repetition today, that the burden involved in learning the language or languages other than one's mother tongue, must, as far as possible, be distributed evenly among all the people of India. For the same reason, I have often advocated that it is the duty of those whose mother tongue is Hindi to learn at least one regional language, preferably, in my view, a South Indian language. I do not say so merely on sentimental grounds. Its practical utility is equally obvious. I take it that when the system of education at the various stages has been properly reorganised and when the efforts of the Education Ministry and the various Commissions which have gone and are still going into this complicated question, have borne fruit, the study of regional languages will be encouraged as a second language at the secondary or university stage all over the country. Irrespective of this fact, it has to be admitted that sufficient time should be given to all the people who do not understand Hindi to learn it. I need hardly say that the emphasis is on learning Hindi rather than on the time factor involved in doing so, although we must do all that is possible to honour the stipulation made in our Constitution in this regard.

Perhaps the most controversial issue raised in this connection is whether the Union Public Service Commission, which recruits personnel for all-India services, should hold its competitive examinations through the medium of Hindi. Our Home Minister's statement in

Parliament, last May, and earlier the Congress Working Committee's resolution on which Pt. Govind Vallabh Pant's statement was based, should go a long way in dispelling whatever misgivings there might have been on this account. Pt. Pant said that the Government had decided to be guided on the subject by the principles contained in the resolution entitled "Examinations for all-India services" which was passed by the Congress Working Committee in April, 1954. The Working Committee's resolution emphasized the desirability of progressive steps being taken to make Hindi the language of examinations for the all-India services, but at the same time it said that these steps should be so phased as not to cast any undue burden on the candidates from any part of the country where the regional language is other than Hindi. The Working Committee suggested a practical solution of this problem by recommending "that progressively examinations for the all-India services should be held in Hindi, English and the principal regional languages, and candidates may be given the option to use any of these languages for the purpose of examinations. In the event of a candidate choosing Hindi or a regional language for the purpose of his examination, he should pass separately in English also. All candidates who have been successful in these all-India examinations will have to pass a test in Hindi at an early stage, unless they have already taken Hindi in the examinations previously".

It is thus clear that although steps may be taken to encourage the use of Hindi as the medium of competitive examinations, those who might prefer to use the media of English or their mother tongue for these examinations would be free to do so, subject to their passing a test in Hindi later on. This would obviate any hardship or undue burden being cast on those whose regional language is other than Hindi. They would be able to take the examination in the language of their choice. In view of these facts I feel there is no justification for thinking that there is even a remote possibility of the non-Hindi-speaking candidates being discriminated against or put to any disadvantage.

After having stated my views, and I am glad to say these are also the views of the Government of India, let me reassure my countrymen of the South and other non-Hindi regions that there is no question of imposing Hindi on any one. Sheer practical necessities have driven us to have an all-India language and the same consideration led the Constituent Assembly of India to pick up Hindi for fulfilling that requirement. It is for us now to translate

that decision into action, bearing all the time in mind the good of the people of India, the importance of the regional languages and their rich literary traditions and the distribution of the burden involved in the process of replacement of English as evenly as possible.

I hope this Exhibition will bring into bold relief the work which the Ministry of Education has so far done for popularising Hindi and enriching its vocabulary, particularly of scientific terms. With these words, I have pleasure in declaring this Exhibition open.

NATIONAL DANCE FESTIVAL

Inaugural Speech

2 November, 1955

I am very glad to have been asked to inaugurate the first National Dance Festival organized by the Bharatiya Kala Kendra under the auspices of the Sangeet Natak Akademi. It is, indeed, a happy augury that since Independence we have been going ahead not only in the field of economic and material development but also in the sphere of fine arts.

Music and dancing have been an essential part of the life of the people of this country. According to our traditional belief, fine arts sprang up from the same source which gave birth to meditation, spiritual aspirations, philosophy and literature of this country. When the different branches of knowledge took shape in the Vedic age, arts like music and dancing also appeared at that time. That is the real reason that for centuries these arts have played such a prominent part in the religious and spiritual life of the Indian people. In the eyes of ancient seers and thinkers, music and dancing were the means of achieving life's *summum bonum* on this earth. Gradually, as these arts developed and the general mass of people started taking interest in them, they became broadbased and popular.

How the art of dancing developed in course of time, how it took different forms in different regions, how it became a household

affair under State patronage and how it came to be looked upon as a source of entertainment and of achieving physical and mental health—of all these things, I am sure, you are already aware. The vicissitudes of time and foreign invasions in the middle ages led the dance away from the generality of people, particularly in the North where a social stigma came to be attached to dancing and respectable classes kept away from its so-called evil influences. How far this attitude was correct or proper is a matter of opinion, which does not interest us here. Our duty in the changed circumstances of today should be to re-establish the time-honoured arts of music and dancing in their proper places so that they may be looked upon once again as a means of integral development of human personality. Let not the fount of these arts, conceived in an atmosphere of meditation, manifested in the traditional fervour of devotion and later patronised by kings, nobility and religious institutions, dry up in secular India, where religion is an individual's affair and the basis of society is egalitarian. I think for the growth and proper development of these arts, no times could have been more propitious than the present. Instead of having to depend on the magnanimity of the nobility, these arts rely today on the support of the Indian masses. Far from being a means of entertainment for any particular class, these are a source of recreation and healthy growth of the people of such. We could verily describe the present times as the golden age for the development of arts.

Whatever the Bharatiya Kala Kendra and the Sangeet Natak Akademi have done so far to encourage and promote these arts is indeed admirable and of national importance. The Dance Festival which you have arranged, I am sure, will go a long way in bridging the gulf which separates the people from these arts.

During the short period of two years or so of its existence, the Sangeet Natak Akademi has held two similar festivals earlier. I feel that the hopes with which this institution was set up have been more than fulfilled. The foremost object of the Akademi should be to encourage arts by co-ordinating the activities of all organizations devoted to them. As far as I can see, the Sangeet Natak Akademi has been acquitting itself well in discharging this responsibility.

I heartily welcome this Dance Festival and congratulate all those organizations, artistes and other workers through whose efforts and enthusiasm this festival could be held. I hope such festivals will be held in other parts of the country also and that the people will show greater and greater interest in them.

SANSKRIT VISHWA PARISHAD

Presidential Address

11 November, 1955

I am very glad that as in previous years, this year also I have been able to attend the annual session of the Sanskrit Vishwa Parishad, which is being held in the sacred town of Tirupati. I am not a scholar of Sanskrit, nor can I claim to have devoted to its study as much time as I would have wished to. All that I can claim, in all humility, is my love for that language.

If I must analyse my attachment to Sanskrit, I may confess that it is based partly on considerations of utility and partly on sentiment. Sanskrit is the language of India's culture and inspiration, the language in which all her past greatness, her rich thought and her spiritual aspirations are enshrined. The other two languages, Pali and Prakrit, which may be said to supplement Sanskrit in carrying out the functions of a storehouse of knowledge, are closely allied to it. As a matter of fact, the importance of Pali and Prakrit is itself an argument in favour of the study of Sanskrit, because without it these languages cannot be properly appreciated. Whether one has to know the famous systems of Indian philosophy or to trace the evolution of Indian fine arts like music and dancing or try to fill the gaps here and there in our long history, knowledge of Sanskrit is an essential prerequisite for all these undertakings.

It is a well-known fact that renowned scholars from foreign countries have made a notable contribution to the advancement of Sanskrit by their critical and deep study of Sanskrit classics, and it could be safely asserted that but for their efforts it was not possible to understand the important role Sanskrit has played in the development of human thought and culture. It was in the seventeenth century that Roger's translation of Bhartrihari's verses appeared in Dutch language. Wilkis, who studied at Banaras, translated the Bhagwadgita in 1785, Hitopadesh in 1787 and Shakuntala in 1792. German poets like Schiller and Goethe were profoundly impressed by these works. Colebrooke published his monumental works in the first half of the nineteenth century—a Sanskrit dictionary, treatises on Hindu Law, a Sanskrit grammar and a translation of Kiratarjuniyam. About this time Russian versions of the Ramayana

and Mahabharata also appeared. Rosen and Maxmuller translated the Vedas between 1840 and 1870. Chairs of Sanskrit were created in some foreign universities a hundred years ago. Sanskrit is now being taught in German and French universities. Today it is a compulsory subject in Kabul University.

It is for these reasons that I consider the study of Sanskrit as of great value to us. The second argument, namely, sentimental attachment, in a way, flows from the first argument. Sanskrit has not only been the treasure-house of our past knowledge and achievements in the realm of thought and art, it has also been the principal vehicle of our nation's aspirations and cultural traditions, besides being the source and inspiration of India's modern languages. The four South Indian languages also, which, strictly speaking, do not belong to the group of Indo-Aryan languages, have, through mutual contact and religious and cultural affinity, drawn a large part of their vocabulary from Sanskrit.

I have often heard it said that for many centuries in the past, Sanskrit provided the principal basis for the unity of India. There appears to be a good deal of truth in this saying. Imagine, two thousand years ago when from the point of view of geography and topography India was probably a bigger country than she is today, how people living in the far-flung *pradeshas* maintained contact with one another. In that hoary past, when, in the modern sense of the term, there were hardly any means of communication, the whole country had more or less a common pattern of education, common rituals and common beliefs. It was Sanskrit which provided a common medium of expression and also literary effort. While regional languages, in varying stages of development, were spoken in the various regions, Sanskrit truly provided the *lingua franca*. It enjoyed the status of what we might call the national language of India for many centuries. All this shows the great part which Sanskrit has played in the cultural evolution of this country.

I do not mean to suggest that we should or can once again put Sanskrit on that pedestal and make it the inter-State language, though I am aware this plea has been put forth from some quarters. Without hazarding any opinion about the feasibility or desirability of this proposition, I have no hesitation in saying that even in the vastly changed circumstances of today, Sanskrit offers us much that is bound to be of value to the country as a whole. Whatever the status that we might agree to give formally to this great language,

the fact remains that it provides the common fount from which the growing languages of modern India derive sustenance.

In spite of the vast distances which separate one region from the other and the great variety of local customs and traditions, a man from the North cannot but feel thrilled when he finds that life in the South is governed by the same beliefs and rituals as in the North. Only a few months ago when I happened to plant a tree in a village in Hyderabad State, I was struck by the ceremony which preceded the planting of the sapling. It was exactly the same ceremony which I have been witnessing year after year in Delhi. The same holds good of the principal rites generally known as the sixteen *sanskaras*, which every Hindu considers it his duty to perform during his lifetime.

Hence it is the principal aim of this Conference to promote the study of Sanskrit so as to restore it to its proper status and to develop it. I have no doubt that this assembly of learned men would consider the matter in all its aspects, by a comprehensive survey, giving a clear lead to the country. I wish them success in their endeavours.

THAKKAR BAPA VIDYALAYA, THYAGARAYANAGAR (Madras)*

It is a great distinction for any institution to have been founded by Mahatma Gandhi himself. Your institution has had the additional qualification of having been named after Thakkar Bapa. Thakkar Bapa, as you know, devoted his whole life to the service of the depressed and the poor. Till the last moment of his life, he had no other thought except service of the poorest of the poor. Mahatma Gandhi, I need hardly say, was the inspirer not only of Thakkar Bapa, but of so many others like him to lead a life of service to others. It is therefore a matter of great pleasure to me

Reply to the Welcome Address of the Vidyalyaya at Thyagarayanagar, Madras,
13 November, 1955.

that the institution which was founded under such auspices is now doing good work.

It is quite true that denominational institutions have a value of their own. There was a time when we could not wait for such institutions to grow to serve the depressed classes. Therefore, while Mahatma Gandhi was doing his best to remove all signs of untouchability, he also encouraged the founding of such institutions. It was not possible in those days to secure admission for children of the Harijan community to the ordinary institutions, whether educational or other. But the time has now come when we should reconsider our whole attitude towards the founding of institutions intended for particular classes or groups or castes. No public institution could refuse to admit a student because he belonged to a Harijan caste or to any particular class. Under the law it is an offence to refuse admission to boys of the Harijan class. It does not mean however that the institutions which have been run for so long should be closed for that reason. I would suggest to the Trustees and Managers of Institutions like this to take into consideration this aspect and to make some arrangement for the admission of some boys and girls not belonging to the Harijan caste. I am glad to learn just now that you have already got some boys of the so called higher castes, even of the highest caste. I think you are very right in bringing such boys into these institutions so that they might mix freely with the Harijan boys and the distinctions between them could be removed. I am however sorry to learn that in spite of the good work you have been doing, you are not free from anxiety about this institution. An institution like this ought not to be in need of funds. They must be found from some source and in sufficient quantity. While therefore I would appeal to the public and to the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi to support this institution, I would ask Government to give them material help as far as possible.

I have seen something of the work being done by boys and I am pleased with what they have done. I understand there is another institution for girls here. I hope in that institution also there are some girls from the higher castes. It is a good idea to have an institution for girls also, because without improvement in the condition of our womenfolk, there cannot be general progress in the country.

I congratulate you all on the work you are doing and wish you all success.

KAMBAN DAY CELEBRATIONS

Presidential Address

14 November, 1955

It gives me great pleasure to associate myself with this Conference. It is my misfortune that I do not know Tamil and I cannot read a word of Kamban. But from what I have heard from people who know, I can well imagine that the great poet has written in your language what Tulsidas has done in our language in the North. I can only refer to Kamban as Tulsidas because I know Tulsidas and do not know Kamban. Anyone who is familiar with the conditions in North India knows how in every village people gather every evening—most of them illiterate—repeating lines from Tulsidas and singing with zest for hours together every night. It is in this way the ancient lore and ancient philosophy of India had been communicated to the masses. Therefore, I can very well imagine how the poetry of Kamban must be influencing the lives of the common people who do not read Sanskrit and who have not been able to read a line of Valmiki *Ramayana* or any other book of Indian philosophy.

Tulsidas, though a *bhakta* of Rama, is more enthusiastic in his devotion to Siva and on an occasion has said that a man cannot become a true *bhakta* of Rama without becoming a *bhakta* of Siva. Anyway, so far as the masses are concerned, the dispute about the philosophical theories and tenets has been relegated to the background and Siva and Rama have become one in the North. I can very well imagine here in the South that Kamban, who very largely must have drawn his material from the same source as Tulsidas, has been able to portray not the life of a man, although superman—but of an *Avatar* who is an incarnation of Vishnu himself. Apart from the great beauty of his poetry, it is essentially *bhakti* which pervades every line of Tulsidas which appeals to the common man. And I believe the same is true of Kamban who also is a *bhakta* par excellence, poet only afterwards. I can take this opportunity also of congratulating you on the idea of starting a society in his name so that a special study may be made of Kamban and his works may become even more popular. Perhaps it is true that at present we have got similar societies about Tulsidas's works in the North. But there is no doubt that such societies help in the study of the works and also

give the atmosphere in which generally study of the language prospers.

We have now and then discussions about the national language of India, and speaking here before a Tamil audience on a subject which is very dear to the Tamilians, I may say at once as one speaking the Hindi language, as one associated with Hindi *prachar*, that it has not been the intention in the North or in the South to supplant the local regional language—here Tamil—by Hindi and if anyone were so foolish as to embark upon such an enterprise, he will soon discover that he is attempting an impossible task. But I am quite sure we are not so foolish and we have never thought of imposing anything on any one, not to speak of language which is so dear to every one who speaks it. I would therefore request people here in the South to consider the question more or less in the practical way. It is by mere chance that Hindi happens to be spoken by a larger number of people than any other language of India. It is a mere accident. For that very reason Hindi has been accepted as the language for all-India purposes. It has not been the intention either to weaken or in any way to divert the attention of the people from their language which everybody loves. I would therefore suggest for consideration of the friends of the South that they should consider this as a purely practical proposition and from the point of national work. You know also the limitations which not only the Constitution but also practical commonsense lays down. The limitation is that Hindi has to be used for all-India purposes and not for purposes which can be fulfilled equally well or better perhaps by the language that is spoken in a particular region by the people of that region. That is the limitation. You can easily understand how it becomes difficult for us in the North to think that there should be any opposition to the adoption of Hindi as the language. Probably you may retort and say that it is difficult for you to imagine how it should be accepted without demur. It is purely from the point of view of national convenience that a particular language has been adopted. If by any chance any other language had that advantage of being understood by more than half the people of the country, I am quite sure that that would have been adopted as the language of the country for all-India purposes.

The question has been raised about the disadvantages which people speaking other languages may have to suffer from on account

of the adoption of Hindi. I may say at once that all precautions should be taken so that no one would be placed at a disadvantage as compared with others. As far as I know and as far as I can judge, such precautions are being taken and will continue to be taken so that every one is placed in a position in which he can compete with others and not suffer any disadvantage on account of not being a Hindi-speaking person. This assurance had been given in Parliament and although as President it is not my function to give assurances—it is the Ministers' function to give assurances which they alone can implement—I believe in a matter like this I can speak with some amount of authority and knowing as I do what the Ministers feel and think, I can unhesitatingly give the assurance that there is no intention of imposing any language on anybody and if Hindi has been adopted for all-India purposes it is because it is considered to be very convenient from all points of view for the greater number of people of the country.

The question as regards quality of language does not really arise. I believe most languages in India are quite developed and because they have not been used for administrative purposes for nearly 200 years, they may not have got a ready-made vocabulary which will be intelligible and understood all over the country. As a Hindi-speaking man, I have more than once appealed to all non-Hindi people to take part in shaping the Hindi language and moulding it so that it can become a proper vehicle for expressing modern ideas and modern thoughts in whatever way they like. And when it becomes the national language or language for the whole country, it becomes not only the privilege but also the duty of people speaking other languages to make their contributions to enrich it. I have no doubt that Hindi has the capacity to adjust itself and also to take whatever is available in other languages for enriching it. It has done so in the past. If you read any book in Hindi, you will find a number of Persian and Arabic words in it because of the influence of the Persian and Arabic languages during the Muslim period in India. You will find in the Hindi of today the influence of Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati and the influence of even English. I am not able to say whether it has got any contribution from Tamil as well. But knowledge of other languages and Hindi justifies me in saying that Hindi is ever open to adjustments, ever open to take whatever it can get from other sources. I invite you to make your own contribution so that you may also call it your own language just as I call it my own language.

I have often told people in the North that they should try to learn one of the South Indian languages if not for any other reason at least for this that unless they knew such a language and read some good works in it, they would not really be able to enter into the spirit of the people as a whole. It is therefore necessary that people in Northern India should study South Indian languages so that they might enter into the spirit of the South Indian people. Upto now Sanskrit has supplied that medium. It has brought about a synthesis and unity which could not be often attained in any other way. Now is the time when we have to do something to keep that kind of unity and synthesis so that the nation that we are may continue to prosper and to grow and to get more and more strength.

In conclusion, I should think that the tribute I could pay to Kamban could best be made by making this request and this appeal to you. I am quite sure if a translation of Kamban's works could be produced by some one who knows Hindi equally well there would be a good number of people in the North who would appreciate not only the poetry and *bhakti* of Kamban, but appreciate also the greatness of the Tamil language.

OUR COMPOSITE CULTURE*

I am very happy to be here this morning, although for a very short time. I have been looking forward to this visit for quite some time, though unfortunately, on account of some other urgent engagements, I have to cut down my stay here. I shall look forward to another visit when I could give you a little more time and give myself better opportunities of making friends with you.

India has a peculiarity of its own which it has preserved for ages. We have an immense variety of things, moral, spiritual and physical. Any one can see the great variety in the physical features

* Speech in reply to the address at the civic reception by the Councillors of Government and the Municipal Committee, Pondicherry, 15 November, 1955.

of the country, extending from the highest Himalayas to the sea. On the one side we have got the perpetual snow line and the mountains are clad with white snow throughout the year ; on the other hand, we have barren deserts exuding heat and fire most of the time. While we have some regions which enjoy a rainfall of more than 400 inches, we have other regions in which the rainfall is less than 4 inches. We have at least 12 or 13 principal spoken languages. In addition, there are a very large number of dialects which are prevalent in large tracts of the country. There is no faith in the world which is not followed by millions in this country. Our culture is, therefore, a composite culture which has been influenced by all with whom this country came into contact. This country has never shut its doors against foreigners. In our entire history we have never carried out any aggressive war. We have suffered from invasions, but never ourselves invaded any other country. The policy of Peace which our Prime Minister is so valiantly pursuing is therefore nothing new to this country. It is in keeping with our whole history and tradition. Those of you who have been in this Settlement for 200 years and more under the French, need, therefore, have no apprehensions. Our culture is like a beautiful garland with different hues and different kinds of jewels studded therein. The French tradition and culture, of which so many of you are naturally so proud, only adds another jewel to this necklace. You may be rest assured that we shall not be so foolish as to destroy this new gem. We shall value it and treasure it. It has only to adjust itself in the right setting so that it may add to the beauty of the whole necklace and not peep out of the setting in an ugly way. I am sure that you will not do anything to lessen the beauty of the whole.

Mention has been made of the *de jure* position of this Settlement. We have won this part of the country by patience and the formality which still remains incomplete will also be completed in the same way. You should therefore be patient. I am sure that this patience will pay.

I am also aware of other difficulties which have arisen in some matters. Such difficulties are natural and were to be expected. But you may rest assured that these will also be solved in due time and the Government of India as well as the Government here are anxious to solve them as quickly as possible.

I am glad that I have been able to pay this short visit. I thank you for the warm welcome which you have extended to me.

NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF ART

Inaugural Address

15 January, 1956

I am very happy to be in your midst today to inaugurate the Second National Exhibition of Art organised by the Lalit Kala Akadami. It would not be in keeping with the spirit of art if I did not admit that to come to a place like this, in the midst of artists and a collection of select pieces of art, is, indeed, a pleasure for anyone whose vocation keeps him generally tied to routine preoccupations. I can be no exception to it, and I must confess to my sense of pleasure and relief to be here on the Lalit Kala Akadami's kind invitation. By referring to one's preoccupations as being mundane or of routine nature, I do not mean to suggest either that those preoccupations are in any way unimportant or sordid or that art itself is divorced from the realities of life. Life and art are essentially one. It is another matter if human life or, for that matter, life in any form is so varied and has such a plurality of facets that those devoted to its study do not always appear to be treading the same path. Fine arts are one of the best known media for the expression of man's emotions and for conveying an idea of the yearning of human soul. In its very nature, therefore, art cannot help having a chastening and a sublimating influence on us.

As I said last year, the establishment of the Lalit Kala Akadami has fulfilled a long-felt want in this country. Even earlier, we had art associations and organizations doing valuable work in this field, but a well-organized and co-ordinating link has been provided by the Lalit Kala Akadami. I am sure with this institution getting into strides, other organizations, such of them as may still be there, will receive only strength and support from it. Organized effort and proper co-ordination have their own value in every sphere of human activity, including the realm of fine arts.

Within the short space of two years, the Lalit Kala Akadami can claim to have brought about a consciousness of art at least in the minds of the educated section of Indian society. An annual exhibition of art, to organize which you have necessarily to maintain contact with art organizations and individual artists, is an institution of great value. The institution of awards for paintings adjudged as best promotes a spirit of healthy rivalry, besides giving an impetus to art.

I need hardly dwell on the importance of establishing close contacts with foreign countries through the medium of art. Art has its own language, which, unlike the phonetic expressions varying from land to land, is unique in being intelligible to all humanity. It is essentially a universal medium for the fostering of amity and goodwill and bringing nations together through understanding and mutual appreciation of one another's art. In this field you have so far made only a beginning, but even that beginning, small though it is, is of profound significance. I am glad that in establishing cultural contacts with foreign countries, you have not laid stress only on sending art exhibitions and delegations from India to other countries, but also organized exhibitions from abroad at important centres in this country. You have already exhibited paintings from Canada, Hungary and China in India. This is an activity whose importance cannot be exaggerated in the present-day world when international goodwill and understanding are absolutely necessary for the progress and happiness of mankind.

I welcome the idea of the Lalit Kala Akadami having its publications for the benefit of those who may be interested in particular schools of art and may like to have their collections with them. I hope your journal "Lalit Kala" which you propose to bring out shortly, will be of considerable help in your organisational activities.

Of no less importance is your programme to undertake a survey of Indian arts and crafts. This work has suffered in the past through neglect and lack of encouragement. As these drawbacks are now being remedied, let me hope that along with the revival of Indian fine arts in general, our arts and crafts will also stage a comeback. In the life of the unsophisticated village folk of this country it is these crafts which are at once a source of inspiration and an expression of their artistic urges.

I wish you the best of luck and hope that the Lalit Kala Akadami will continue to forge ahead.

TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY SENATE HOUSE

Foundation-stone Laying Ceremony

2 February, 1956

It is a matter of great pleasure to me to be asked to lay the foundation-stone of the Senate House of the Travancore University. When I was first asked to do so, I readily agreed because I have always felt a kind of deep interest in educational matters and I consider it a privilege to be associated with any function connected with educational institutions, especially so in Travancore-Cochin where education is far advanced, and where, as has just been reported to us, the number of students today is 29,000, out of whom nearly one-third are women. It is a matter for gratification and congratulation that the university, which is not even 20 years old as yet, has, in spite of various difficulties, made steady progress, and today it has not only arts, science and technical institutions as its constituent parts, but also a faculty for the cultivation and development of oriental studies, including Malayalam and Sanskrit. It has been from the very beginning one of the objects of this university to promote research, and while it has on one side been helping research work in modern sciences, it has not neglected the humanities which are really of such great value in forming the character of those who study them.

We have at the present moment in the country a great problem, I mean, the problem of educated unemployment. I am not surprised that this problem is troubling you also, because even in places where education is not so widespread, the problem has made itself felt and efforts are being made to solve it in two ways. On the one side, efforts are being made to so adjust the curricula of universities and educational institutions as to make the students better fitted for the kind of work which is just now available in the country, and which we hope will be more and more available in the future; and on the other side attempts are being made to develop industries and other means for employment. So this two-pronged attack on the problem of unemployment is going on throughout the country. I am quite sure, you are also doing the same. It is not easy for me, speaking as I do here, to make any suggestions or extend any promises. All I can say is this, that we in the North admire you, the people of this part of the country. We admire you for your ability, integrity and

assiduity—qualities which are bound to help you to conquer not only small handicaps but many other difficulties. You may rest assured that, circumstanced as we are today, the country is on the look out for ability and character, and you will make yourselves felt, as you have already done in many spheres of life, in other parts of the country also. If you take the case of Delhi, you will find that Kerala is not absent from there. In fact, many people think that it is quite live and active. And that is no favour to Kerala! It is on account of the merit of the people of Kerala that they are there. You may rest assured that in future there is going to be no restriction on merit, and no kind of *duty* to be levied on merit. It is all a question of adjusting the requirements of the country from the available material. Just as you have already got a higher proportion of your population in education and branches of public service, so also you will have it in industries, if you have not got it already.

It is, therefore, a matter of gratification to me that you have not confined your activities to the well-known and traditional subjects. You have a variety of subjects, some of them most modern, which are needed today much more than ever before. All this is as it should be. I am only hoping that as days go by, you will be making greater and greater progress in all directions and the problems with which you are faced today and which have arisen to some extent on account of the peculiar conditions in this part of the country, will be solved to your entire satisfaction and the satisfaction of us all.

Your Vice-Chancellor said just now that our university education is changing according to changed circumstances. This is a fact. If some people are impatient today and ask for further changes, it does not mean that they do not recognize the changes that have taken place already. It only means that they want the pace to be quickened a little, and I must confess that, I am myself one of those who hold this view. I assure you that I do not for a moment minimize the value of all that has been done by our older universities and even by newer universities. I am grateful for all that I have myself received from one of the oldest universities in India. I shall be the last man to say that universities have done no good at all: but I say this that, according to changed circumstances, changes have to be made and changes should be made quickly. Changes are being made but the pace should be quickened. That is all I plead for. From what I have heard about your university, I must say that you are fully cognizant of the necessity of this change and of its pace.

During the short period of about 18 or 19 years, you have already shown what tremendous progress can be made and with the limited resources at one's disposal. You have not only increased the number of colleges and faculties in the university, and encouraged research work; you have also succeeded in attracting to it larger and ever larger number of students, both men and women. Great credit is due to you also for the fact that you have co-education on such a large scale. Not that co-education is absent elsewhere, but it is not existent on the same scale as here, and I must say that if a country is to grow, both its men and women must grow. You have recognized this fact not only in the life of the university, but in the life of Kerala as a whole and for ages past. It is for this reason that you are making such a rapid progress in all directions and I must congratulate you on this achievement. It is not only a matter of immense pleasure but also a great privilege that I am laying the foundation-stone of such a university. I thank you all for your cordial welcome and for this opportunity that you have afforded to me.

THE PROBLEM OF LANGUAGE*

I do not know how to thank the people of this State for the honour they have done me by asking me to lay the foundation-stones of so many good and useful projects. Even since I landed here, I have been laying foundation-stones of educational institutions, hospitals, water-works and last but not the least, of a drainage scheme. This is indicative of the large building programme that the State Government is undertaking to provide some essential comforts and amenities to the people and is, therefore, a matter for gratification and congratulation.

In your address you have referred to the diverse languages and ways of life of the people and also drawn attention to our underlying unity. In the context of the latter, I want to talk to you today about the problem of our language.

* Speech while laying the foundation-stone of the Ernakulam Drainage Scheme and replying to the civic address by the Ernakulam Municipality, 5 February, 1956.

When the Constituent Assembly was sitting in Delhi and considering what should be done with regard to language, it had to take a very careful decision. It was obvious that a foreign language, however, well established, could not be expected to reach the people at large. We had also to recognise the fact that there is not one but several languages prevalent in India with a number of dialects and sub-dialects. We could not say that any one language was better than the others; each one of us was proud of speaking our own language. It would have been a poor specimen of democracy if we were to suppress the language of any constituent part. We had, therefore, to give a list of regional languages which could play their appropriate roles in regional affairs. But we had also to find a common language for all-India purposes. English had served this purpose for quite a long time, but, as I said earlier, however useful it might have been in the past, it could not continue to perform the same function for ever, and especially in the changed context of today. We had to find a substitute from among our own languages and it was found that the language which was spoken and understood by the largest majority of the people was Hindi. It was therefore adopted as the language for all-India purposes. By doing so, it was not implied that Hindi was better than any other language or languages. It was chosen because it happened to be spoken by the largest number of the people.

Misunderstandings are sometimes created and people start imagining that Hindi is being forced on them. Not only as a Hindi-speaking person but also as President of the Indian Republic, I can give you the assurance that there is no intention on the part of any responsible person to force this language on any one. In fact, all that is intended is that those whose language is other than Hindi should acquire a working knowledge of it so that they may understand the State language. We must all be prepared to make that much of sacrifice in the interests of the unity of our country. As one can see, the sacrifice involved is not much because all that is required is acquisition of knowledge of another language which cannot but be good. The Government should only take care to see that no discrimination is practised on account of language. From the little experience that I have had about the spread of Hindi in the south, I am inclined to believe that it is being learnt with great enthusiasm.

During the last 30 years or more, I have been associated with the Hindi Prachar Sabha of Madras. It was my good fortune to

have presided over some of its meetings for the distribution of certificates, diplomas and prizes to those who had passed in the Hindi examinations. On many an occasion, I distributed diplomas to three generations at one and the same time, that is to the father, the son and the grandson, or the mother, the daughter and the grand-daughter. It was interesting to find that in so many cases the son did better than his father or that the grandson fared better than his grand-father or the daughter did better than his mother or grand-mother. I have, therefore, no doubt in my mind that the people in the South will adopt Hindi for the purpose for which it is intended. It has given me genuine pleasure to learn that in Travancore-Cochin State, Hindi has been taught for a long time, along with the mother-tongue and English. That is as it should be and I am glad that I have had this opportunity of acquainting myself with this aspect of national work which is being done in your part. Let me congratulate you on this achievement. I am sure in course of time Hindi will take the place of English and when I come here next, I hope, I shall be able to address you directly in Hindi and that you will be able to understand me.

SANGEET NATAK AKADAMY

Presidential Address

11 April, 1956

It gives me great pleasure to be associated once again with the annual function of the Sangeet Natak Akadamy. I have expressed my views on previous occasions as to the importance of fine arts like music and drama and the high place that has always been assigned to them in the national and cultural life of India since ancient times. I believe these arts are the result of achieving complete harmony between recreation on the one hand and man's physical and intellectual development on the other. Whatever the changes that these few thousand years might have wrought in man and his environments, his attitude towards music, dance, etc., has hardly

undergone much change. Human liking for these arts is a universal phenomenon, although there might be shades of differences in the manner in which it seeks expression in different regions and at different times. Nevertheless, it is a truism that since time immemorial man's reaction to these arts has been pleasant and favourable the world over. There is hardly a country or a human society where men and women do not express their emotions through music and dance when they see clouds gather in the sky in rainy season or when after several months of toil they are face to face with ripe crops in the fields. This kind of reaction in human mind is altogether natural.

In our country most of the fine arts, particularly music and dance, have all along been looked upon as an integral part of our cultural and spiritual heritage. That is why in course of time these arts came to have religious sanctions behind them and the lovers of art associated even gods and goddesses with dance and music. Incarnations like Nataraja, Sri Krishna and others also came to be associated with one musical instrument or the other and as for Saraswati, it is difficult to imagine her without her Vina. All this goes to show what a high place had been assigned to music and other arts in Indian society.

If efforts are being made in free India to revive these arts and to popularise them, the reason is not merely love for the old and the traditional. These arts, specially music and dance, are so well developed and have so much inspirational value that they may well be looked upon as means of sublimating human society and imparting true happiness to it. Such means of collective recreation have a special significance for society because in addition to giving joy to people they also strengthen the sense of national and cultural unity.

It was with all these things in view that the Sangeet Natak Akadamy was established with a view to encouraging music and dance and making them popular among the masses. I am glad that the Akadamy is doing good work in this direction and thereby fulfilling the objective for which it was established. Popular interest in folk music and folk dances has been on the increase of late. Another welcome feature of this development has been the appreciation of the regional styles of dance and music in all parts of the country. The southern styles, for example, have now come to be appreciated in the north and the styles prevalent in the north, east and west are gaining popularity in the south. The value of such an exchange in the sphere of art and culture in the life of a nation cannot be exaggerated.

It was with a view to popularising these arts and encouraging artists that the system of national awards was instituted. Such awards stimulate a spirit of healthy rivalry and, as far as I know, these have actually done so. I congratulate the artists who have won this year's awards. Let me hope they will continue their interest in these arts and keep striving to carry them to perfection.

PUNJABI LITERATURE*

I welcome this opportunity of addressing the Second All-India Punjabi Conference and feel grateful to its organizers for their kind invitation.

One feels so much gratified to see that like the other Indian languages Punjabi is also making rapid progress and its literature is being enriched. All these languages are like one family, known collectively as Indian literature. Each one of these languages is important and each one of them adds to the glory and the enrichment of Indian literature. There can, therefore, be no question of any antagonism or inherent opposition among these languages. Each one of them has its own peculiarities and its own regional literature. Their mutual bonds are so strong that it is not possible to understand the origin and growth of any one of them without appreciating the development of the other languages.

The stream of Indian literature has flown steadily, high-lighting the ideals of harmony and freedom of thought right from pre-historic times. From after the Vedic age, when the historic period begins and we can be somewhat sure of the process of literary growth, we find Sanskrit to be the sole medium of the nation's literary effort. Some time later, Pali and Prakrit came to be recognised as alternative media of literary expression, and along with Sanskrit these languages also began to develop. In the middle ages all the three languages started sprouting into other tongues. This was the time when the modern Indian languages began to take shape. These tongues, all

* Speech at the second All-India Punjabi Conference, New Delhi, 15 April, 1956.

of which belong to the Indo-Aryan group of languages, continued to develop according to their peculiar genius and local environments. Clearly, all of them, including Punjabi, have a common origin, their vocabulary is mainly drawn from one source and the sources of their inspiration, namely, Indian culture, thought and the historical background, are also common. The South-Indian languages, on the other hand, which belong to the Dravidian group, also began to develop about the same time, except that Tamil, the oldest among those languages, is believed to have started taking shape much before the middle ages.

When we view the question from this angle, it will be agreed that there has been complete freedom in our country not only of thought, but also of language. There might have been differences or clashes between State and State due to any causes, but as far as I know, the issue of language has never been one of those causes. In the midst of political turmoil and the changing fortunes of various kingdoms, one after another, our languages continued to grow according to their capacity, unhindered by those changes. Not only this, sufficient proof can be adduced to show that the process of give and take among these languages has throughout continued. We have a number of "border-line" poets claimed by more than one language. For example, Vidyapati is claimed by Hindi and also Bengali, while Mira is looked upon as their poet both by the protagonists of Hindi as well as Gujarati. As for Punjabi and Hindi, the number of poets common to both the languages is more than a dozen. The revered Gurus and their followers, who laid the foundations of Punjabi and developed it, are all assigned a place of honour in Hindi literature. The close and intimate relationship between Hindi and Punjabi even today is evident from their respective histories and the large volume of common words in their vocabularies.

The status of Hindi has undergone some change in free India insofar as it is gradually becoming an all-India language and has to take the place of English in course of time. Though both of them are sister languages, Hindi and Punjabi have separate spheres of influence. Like the literature of any other Indian language, the literary treasure of Punjabi also forms a part of our common national heritage. I do not know much about Punjabi and its literature, but I can say that its trends and traditions are healthy and in keeping with our culture and national aspirations. India is a very big country in which followers of many religions and speakers of many

languages live. There is ample scope here for various linguistic groups to develop their respective languages and literatures in an atmosphere of perfect freedom. Let me hope all the Indian languages will continue to develop and thus contribute to the liquidation of ignorance and illiteracy prevalent in our country.

I welcome the establishment of the Punjabi Sahitya Akadami and hope that this institution would be instrumental in the enrichment of the Punjabi and Indian literature. I wish the Punjabi Sahitya Akadami all success.

UNIVERSITY FORUMS—THEIR IMPORTANCE*

It is a matter of great pleasure to me to meet you all today. I cannot talk to you in detail about the First Five-Year Plan or the Second. I can talk to you only in a general way, because you yourselves have been engaged in studying the Plan or its particular aspects and have been preparing papers on various subjects and discussing them in the seminar. That is just as it should be. For, the Plan has its importance not only because it aims at a certain level of production, a certain level of investment and a certain level of the national or individual income, but also because it seeks to promote the all round development of the human personality. If you take that into consideration, you will realise that though the supply of material goods is important, it is not the only thing that matters. In other words, there are other aspects of human life and human affairs, which, if not of greater, are at least of equal importance with the supply of material goods and removal of material want. It is necessary to bear this aspect of life in mind, specially so in the present age when all the emphasis is being laid only on the material aspects of life. Even in our country which has always prided itself on its spiritual values, we have been wilfully forced to think of planning on the material plane. I do not suggest that the other aspect that I have in mind is ignored by our planners.

* Address to the members of the Forums at Rashtrapati Bhavan, 15 April, 1956.

I am thinking only of the emphasis that is being laid. Perhaps it is necessary and also natural because we have for centuries suffered from a deficiency of those material goods and we have felt the want of necessities of life for a pretty long time. Therefore it is that the first thought of our leaders only went towards the removal of those wants which were uppermost and which everyone of us experienced. But, at the same time, we cannot afford to forget that there is the other aspect. Mere raising of the standard of living by supplying more and more goods is not enough. After all, the aim of human being is happiness—happiness of individuals, happiness of nations, happiness of humanity and of all creation. If we look at the problem from this point of view, we shall find that in bringing real, genuine and true happiness, material things play a rather unimportant part. We come across men who are happy but who do not at the same time possess any of those things which we associate with a good and pleasant life. On the other hand, we know of men who possess all kinds of material things which may be needed for a good life and that too in an ample measure and yet they are not happy. I remember having met a man, a very rich millionaire, many many years ago. I happened to be his guest in one of his factories for the night. The next morning as we were talking, he said that he had not slept for several nights before the previous evening when he got sound sleep. When I asked him why it was so, he said that according to his calculation and study of the working of the factory, he had found that it was running at a loss and it was only the previous day that he felt satisfied that it was doing well and that in course of time it might even show some profit. A thought at once came to my mind. Well, in those days I was not earning a single pie. I was running about without a thought for the next day, without a thought even for the next hour, and still I was quite happy. I asked myself why was it that I was happy without a thought for the following day, while my host, in spite of all his wealth, was not happy. I realised then that happiness was not always dependent on material goods. You have been busy thinking of material goods. I, therefore, thought I would draw your attention towards something which is altogether different. I do not suggest that what you have been thinking of or what the planners have been contemplating is out of place or unnecessary. I am only suggesting that there is another aspect of human affairs which has also to be borne in mind. It is necessary also because at the present moment even in this country we are losing our balance in running after

things which come from other places and rejecting our own things without examination, even though they have come down to us from the ancient past. That is so not in this country alone but in other countries also because values have changed and our sense of relative importance of things is undergoing a vast change. While I am not opposed to change I do want people to think calmly and quietly whether we are justified in throwing away old values, only because they are old. My submission is that when we devote ourselves to the study of Plans, we should not altogether ignore this aspect of life but search in them for something which may help us in that direction also. While we think of the targets of investment and production, we should also think of human character without which we cannot even dream of success for our Plans. For, however beautiful, however well-conceived, and however well managed our Plans may be, they will not succeed without the right type of human material. We often hear that such and such a thing has failed. The machine was all right, the equipment was all right, everything that could be done was done all right, yet it failed because of human failure. What we should do is to attach the same importance to the human side that we attach to the material side of things. This means nothing more than producing a man who has discrimination and character, and who can give up things instead of always trying to grab them. Grabbing is easy and giving up is rather difficult, but what we need is not so much the former as the latter. Remember, the man who gives up ultimately grabs more than he gives up. So even from the acquisitive angle, a man who relinquishes is not always a loser; he may be a loser from the point of view of immediate gain, but he always gains in the long run. And even when he loses, he gains something else and that something else is not less valuable than what he loses.

I would, therefore, suggest to you to consider the human aspect in the Plan. In the education that we give we want all our children, all our young men and young women, to grow up into good citizens which means that they are really prepared to do sacrifice for others, not necessarily to take sacrifices from others but to make their own sacrifices for the good of others. That is essential for planning. My grievance against the present as also against the old system is that we emphasise possession and rights too much and other qualities too little. Even our Constitution has laid down our rights; duties are only implied. They are not expressly laid down except in some cases here and there. But, obviously enough, rights flow only from

the performance of duties; the former cannot exist without the latter. That is also the truth behind the Plan. Why should the Government take upon itself the responsibility of planning for the life of millions, unless the latter are prepared to submit to some kinds of restraint on their individual liberty and freedom? This involves sacrifice. Planning is, therefore, based on what we call the *dharma* of sacrifice or giving up, rather than an insistence on rights or on taking more. I would, therefore, request you to bear this point in mind.

As I have said, I have no time, perhaps not even the competence, to talk to you in detail about the Plans. You have studied the Plans more thoroughly than I have done and even if I tried to say something about them, I could not have possibly said anything new to you. But I thought I might draw your attention to something which was not explicitly stated but which was implicit in the Plans, just as duties are implicit in our Constitution, although they are not expressly laid down.

I thank you for the opportunity you have given me to meet you and say a few words to you.

PRAKRIT RESEARCH INSTITUTE, VAISHALI

Foundation-stone Laying Ceremony

23 April, 1956

It is Bihar's good fortune that its past provides the background of the history of ancient India, to know which it is essential to understand Bihar's past history. Vaishali is undoubtedly one of the prominent places connected with our glorious past. This town was the capital of the Lichhavi and Vajji republic and a well-known centre of republican or democratic activities. There was a time when no king ruled this part of the country and more than seven thousand representatives of the people carried on the work of administration. The administration of justice here was so nice that Lord Buddha

himself paid it a handsome tribute. Vaishali was without doubt the fountain-head of democracy at that time.

Vaishali is also the birthplace of Lord Mahavira. Buddha also had great admiration for it. He sanctified it by treading on its soil several times and compared its assembly with that of the gods. The lofty ideals which sprang from Vaishali benefited not only India but also the neighbouring countries of Asia. Vaishali, therefore, occupies an important place in our history and should be the most suitable place for the location of the Prakrit Research Institute. This Institute will fulfil a long-felt need in our cultural life and historical studies.

This Institute will devote itself to the study of Jainology and research in Prakrit texts and literature. This task is of great significance not only from the point of view of culture but also from that of Indian history and thought. The Prakrit Text Society was established in Delhi four years ago with the purpose of publishing Prakrit manuscripts. The aims and functions of the Prakrit Text Society are not, however, broad enough to undertake the work proposed to be entrusted to this Institute.

Luckily I have been connected with the Prakrit Text Society from its very inception. I have always thought that the work of research, annotation and publication of the old Prakrit texts is of fundamental importance from the point of view of our history, literature and culture. It is only during the last 40 years that historians have started attaching importance to this work, although a beginning has been made in this direction only in recent years. Post-graduate studies and researches done in the Prakrit Research Institute will be of help and guidance to the Prakrit Text Society.

Sitting in Vaishali today it seems difficult even to imagine that 2,500 years ago it was the capital of a prosperous and influential republic. It is not only the ancient literature available in different languages or inscriptions which proves this fact. It is also borne out by information from other sources. Vaishali, the birthplace of Mahavira, which remained the centre of the religious and literary activities of his followers for centuries, lies today before us as a mere remnant of its old glory. But after great vicissitudes of history, once again India has become a republic after 2,500 years. We can, therefore, look to the ruins of this place for inspiration. It is but natural that students of ancient history should pay homage to Vaishali and try once again to revive those lofty ideals which, according to the Jain and Buddhist traditions, guided the people of this ancient republic.

Although the republic of which Vaishali was the capital, wielded great influence, it was not a very big State. Nevertheless it was the very heart of India. Its republican traditions were known far and wide and in the realm of thought and culture it held sway all over India. Known for their lust for travel, the Buddhist and Jain Acharyas of Vaishali toured all parts of the country to propagate the teachings of Mahavira and Buddha. Their activities were not confined to the Indian borders and they are known to have established contacts with several Asian countries like Tibet, Nepal, Iran, Indonesia, Afghanistan, etc.

Besides Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit were the other two languages prevalent at that time. Lord Buddha and his followers favoured Pali, while Mahavira and his disciples chose Prakrit as the medium of their teachings. A large section of the Buddhist and Jain literature was written in these two languages. Luckily, a good deal of work has been done in the field of Pali literature, as a result of which we have considerably improved our knowledge of the political and social conditions obtaining in ancient India. It is about 100 years that the Pali Text Society was founded as a result of the co-operation between Indian and foreign Indologists. This Society was responsible for bringing out a large number of valuable publications. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of Prakrit. For some reasons the importance of Prakrit texts and literature dawned on us only recently. Foreign scholars were also attracted towards Prakrit only in the early years of the century. It is not necessary for me to dwell upon the causes of neglect of Prakrit for such a long time and our subsequent inability to do in this sphere what has already been achieved in the field of Pali literature. Suffice it to say that it would be the responsibility of the Prakrit Research Institute to make up for this remissness by collecting ancient scripts and publishing them after proper editing.

I would like to say a few words about the importance and wide range of Prakrit literature. While the Pali language and literature remained current for just seven centuries, the Prakrit tradition extends to no less than 15 centuries. From the point of view of philology, it can be said that as compared to Pali, Prakrit is far nearer to the modern Indian languages of the Indo-Aryan group. In fact, our modern languages are true successors of the Prakrits prevalent in early middle ages. Whether it be Hindi, Bengali, Marathi or any other language, it will be found to have its source in one of the Prakrits. There are some works written at the time

when these languages were in the formative stage. Even today it is difficult to say whether the language of those works is Prakrit or one of the modern languages in its early form. A thorough knowledge of Prakrit is, therefore, essential to understand fully the origin and growth of modern Indian languages.

According to tradition, the Jain Acharyas did not stay at one place for more than three or four months. Thus they remained constantly on the move. Whatever they have written or caused to be written is, therefore, scattered in all parts of the country. Luckily most of those writings are still preserved in the various Jain *bhandaras* in Saurashtra-Gujarat, Rajasthan, Karnatak and places in the North and the East. It is of the utmost importance to collect these scripts and publish them after proper research and editing.

Another characteristic of the Jain scholars was their versatility. While the language in a large majority of cases is Prakrit, all of them are by no means confined to theology or discussion of the teachings of Mahavira. From theology those people verily drifted to secular literature. As Prakrit was almost an all-India language in those days, scripts, inscriptions and coins bearing Prakrit inscriptions are coming to light in various parts of India. It is considered that there are about one thousand Prakrit works still in existence. Of these 300 to 350 have Jain theology as their theme whereas the rest could be classified as works of secular literature, for example, poetry, drama, lexicography, arithmetic, currency, meteorology, geography, astrology, short stories, biography, tales of travels, etc. All these books written by Jain Acharyas in Prakrit are characterised by meticulous care for detail and accuracy of expression.

This characteristic of the Jain or Prakrit literature has made it all the more important to us. Right from the seventh century B.C. up to the eighth century A.D., Prakrit continued to flourish as a literary language. Prakrit works written during this period throw a flood of light on the social and political conditions obtaining in that important period of our history. A large part of Prakrit literature is still a sealed book for an average student of history. The information and the historical data contained in Prakrit literature has yet to be taken into account by our chroniclers. The fact that these writings belong to that period in our history about which our knowledge is most inadequate and is mostly based on conjecture, engenders the hope that with the information contained in Prakrit works coming to light, many a gap in our history might be filled.

For all these reasons, I think, sustained research in this field and the publication of Prakrit books is of extraordinary importance. Apart from Indian historians and scholars, foreign Indologists like Dr. Schubring, are also of the same view. They hold that our knowledge of Indian history and literature would remain incomplete without fully familiarising ourselves with Prakrit literature. It would be sad, and even disgraceful, if this forgotten treasure of information is not unearthed and assimilated in the general stream of our knowledge even now when we are a free country.

Equally important not only for India but the whole world is the need to appreciate the message of Mahavira and to know as much as possible about his worldly life. The doctrine of *ahimsa* enunciated by him was the result of his experience gained at great personal sacrifice. We know it from the life of Mahavira that even after doing great penances he did not become an introvert, or indifferent to other human beings' joys and sorrows. Far from being so, he was ever full of sympathy for others. It was his feeling of utmost sympathy for others that carried him from animal to plant life. His valuable experience and his extraordinary insight into human affairs which made him propound the ideal of *ahimsa*, are not matters of mere idle curiosity but should be a subject matter of scientific study and research.

There is another thing which we should learn from the life of Lord Mahavira, and that is the need to harmonise opposite views and standpoints. It means that one should be so tolerant and broad-minded as to bring sympathy to bear upon an appreciation of others' views and to develop in him the capacity eventually to bring them round to his own view. This emphasis on developing the capacity to harmonise is Mahavira's great contribution to Indian thought and religion. We can best appreciate this principle of harmony in its proper perspective and practical aspect from Mahavira's own life.

For all these reasons I consider the establishment of the Prakrit Research Institute at Vaishali as most opportune. I hope that as a result of the studies and researches carried on here we shall not only be adding to our knowledge of Indian history and enriching Indian culture, but also be able to understand the teachings and know the life-story of one of the greatest souls ever born in this world. I am sure this Prakrit Research Institute, of which you have been good enough to ask me to lay the foundation-stone, will, before long, start functioning. I have no doubt in my mind that in course of time the work of this Institute will restore for Vaishali the

eminent place it enjoyed in the world of learning and culture in times gone by. The Government of Bihar and other institutions and individuals who have given financial and other help in the establishment of this Institute deserve our thanks. Let me hope all of them will continue to offer their help and co-operation in this great task in future also.

EXHIBITION ON BASIC EDUCATION, DELHI

Inaugural Address

28 April, 1956

I am very glad that the Ministry of Education have organised this exhibition on basic education, which, I am sure, will focus public attention on the system of education and help explain the principles and ideals for which it stands. Taking into account the fact that the concept of basic education is not altogether clear in all minds in the country, this exhibition ought to help clarify some of the points and make appreciation of the aim and purpose of basic education easier. The various exhibits displayed in this exhibition are in a way the results in a concrete form of our experiment in basic education during the last 15 years or so, more particularly since Independence.

As I view basic education and as I have understood it since this new concept in the sphere of education was mooted by Gandhiji and some of our leading educationists in 1938, I might briefly describe it as an integrated system of education which provides for the systematic development of both mind as well as body by laying proper emphasis on learning as well as making or rather on learning by making. Under this system of education children learn the three R's as under other systems, but they do that through the instrumentality of some craft or in other words through the art of making things with their own hands. This aspect of basic education pertaining to training through handicrafts, which serves primarily to

distinguish it from other systems of education, makes for the development of the body along with that of the mind or the intellect. Through handicrafts the children not only give a better chance to their limbs to grow but also make the routine of learning more interesting and less irksome. The creative instinct helps mental development and initiative.

When Mahatma Gandhi mooted this idea, he had another objective in mind. The crafts and things which the children would make could be put on sale and thus made to recover at least a part of the expenses incurred on education. Indeed, Gandhiji thought that without having resort to some such device universal education in a big country like India was bound to remain an unfulfilled dream for long. He felt sure that besides providing the right type of education, the system of basic education might also go a long way in paving the way for meeting the ever-increasing outlay on education in the country.

Ever since 1938, basic education has been a subject of active controversy in educational circles, although the Central Advisory Board of Education has been periodically considering the approving of the general principles of this system. After Independence, the Central and the State Ministries of Education have been giving serious thought to the question and basic education has been introduced almost in all parts of the country on an experimental basis. In spite of complications and a number of difficulties, the experiment has gone on and every year more and more basic schools have been started and facilities for training of personnel provided.

The big question, however, which arises when we review the position and try to assess the progress made so far, is whether we have steered clear of the difficulties and have emerged from the controversy stage. I am afraid a positive answer to this question is not possible, although I know that a negative one would be equally incorrect. The problem of having trained personnel in adequate numbers and with adequate training and understanding is undoubtedly one of the greatest difficulties in the way of popularising it. But some of the administrators and teachers still appear to be in doubt as to the feasibility of basic education. The techniques of basic education, it may be true, have not yet been fully developed or reasonably standardised. As conditions vary greatly from region to region and many of the best-known experiments

are said to have been conducted on a limited scale and, in some cases, under controlled and somewhat untypical conditions, final conclusions which may be applicable to the whole country have not emerged as yet. In the very nature of things, a radical change in the pattern of education on a country-wide scale is undoubtedly an uphill task.

No one who appreciates the vastness of the problem that universal education presents in this country, need be disheartened in the face of the difficulties I have referred to just now. But what is of greater consequence is whether those who are entrusted with the task of implementing our educational policies and those who actually teach the children, are convinced in their minds of the efficacy of the system of basic education. If as a result of their first-hand knowledge and experience of this question they have come to have full faith in basic education, I am sure no difficulties will deter them and they will keep on marching steadily towards the goal of universal education. But if, on the other hand, their own convictions are shaky and they devote themselves to it merely in the spirit of carrying out orders imposed from above, no amount of financial allocation and other facilities are going to bring us nearer our goal. I know there is scope for honest differences of opinion on this or, for that matter, on any question, but I thought, on such a fundamental issue as that of education, we should have been able to resolve such differences by now and cleared the way for reconstruction in the all-important field of education. I need hardly emphasize the priority which belongs to a matter like education in a democracy. Let me hope that even with our limited resources, the efforts that the Union Ministry of Education and its counter-parts in the States are making will bear fruit and eventually we shall succeed in liquidating ignorance and illiteracy in India.

In so far as this exhibition is likely to clarify and popularise the concept of basic education and to indicate the result of the efforts of development and expansion of basic education, I welcome the idea of organising this exhibition. It will give some idea of children's art work, their preferences and aptitudes in the matter of selection of crafts. Children's books prepared by children themselves and books prepared by their teachers are also included among the exhibits. Let me hope that not only teachers and parents but also school children would evince interest in this exhibition.

MUNSHI PREM CHAND*

I am very glad to have got this opportunity to see on the stage *Panch Parameshwar*, the famous story written by Prem Chand, one of India's foremost writers. All of you are familiar with the vivid picture of our country-life drawn in this story. In case any one of you has not read *Panch Parameshwar*, this drama which you will see just now would make up for that omission. It is indeed an excellent idea to present the works of our representative writers in the form of dramas, because that is the best way of immortalising those writers and popularising what they wrote. Seeing a story staged in the form of a drama creates a far better effect on human mind than merely reading it in print.

Stories like *Panch Parameshwar* need to be popularised widely. In it the importance of Panchayats, the feeling of good-neighbourliness among villagers and the sense of justice in the *Panchs* have been so well depicted and emphasised. The importance of this story for us today is far greater than it was even at the time when Prem Chand wrote it, because along with our efforts to industrialise India and to increase our national wealth, the Government of free India are also reorganising the Panchayats and vesting them with the important task of rural reconstruction.

It would not be out of place to say a few words on this occasion about the writer of this story. Prem Chand not only enriched Hindi and Urdu literatures, but also considerably raised their standards. As all of you know, in his novels and short stories Prem Chand focussed attention on the problems and situations one actually meets in life. The novel in Prem Chand's hand became a valuable medium for the depiction of life as people actually lived it. All the characters in his novels and stories are men and women of the world as we see them in every-day life. In this way, Prem Chand changed the whole climate of Hindi fiction and established a new relationship between fictional literature and history.

It is only for scholars and literary critics to adjudge the place that Prem Chand has or should have as a novelist and story-writer in India's or, for that matter, in world's literature. As an ordinary reader of his works, I can only say that there appears to be no humanitarian or just cause in society, in politics, in literature or in

* Speech delivered on the occasion of the staging of Prem Chand's *Panch Parameshwar* in Sapru House, New Delhi, 3 August, 1956.

every-day life, which Prem Chand did not espouse. Pleading for patriotism, creating a favourable atmosphere for the national struggle against foreign domination, sympathising with the poor and the helpless village folk, raising his voice of protest against social evils, all these ideals characterise Prem Chand's stories and novels. We can call him a social reformer, a self-respecting wage-earner, a genuine patriot and a true friend of the poor. I think every work of such a writer deserves the best of consideration at our hands. The lofty ideals which Prem Chand kept before him and the writers of his times and the manner in which he lived up to them all his life, should serve as an example and a guide to our present-day writers.

I congratulate the Delhi State Hindi Sahitya Sammelan on this venture and hope that it will strive to present before the public in the same way the works of leading Indian writers, past and present, irrespective of the language in which they wrote.

KALAKSHETRA, ADYAR

Presidential Address

13 August, 1956

It has given me great pleasure to be here with you, even though for a short time. You have rightly said, this institution owes its inspiration to our past culture and history. Here, you are trying to recreate conditions in which our children may live a life which our ancestors held as an ideal for all of us. Today it is necessary to remind ourselves of our past. We have undoubtedly a great future before us. But when we realise that there is something in us and in our past, something in our history, religion, traditions and culture, which we can give to the world, the future becomes brighter still because it is enlivened and inspired by these ideals. It is for this reason that I value a work of this nature. I can assure you that you will always have my sympathy and my admiration and whatever little service I can offer, I shall always be prepared to render for this cause.

You have mentioned Dr. Besant's name. That name has been a source of inspiration to many of us not only in the political field but also in the spiritual and cultural fields. At a time when we were being carried away by a vicious current, Mrs. Besant enabled us to save ourselves and to get out of the whirlpool. Now that we have won our freedom we need all the more to look back to the past so that it may inspire us in the future. In this task, institutions like yours also have to play a great part because the more we can enliven our lives with our own traditions and past culture, the more we can give to the rest of the world a message which it sorely needs. We have no reason to be apologetic to anybody or to be ashamed of anything. There have been things of which we must be ashamed but which should be forgotten; there have also been things of which any nation can be proud. We should try to benefit from the latter and also impart them to others. Our cultural missions abroad should carry the spiritual message of India to other countries, for, in my opinion, it is that message which will be most fruitful and most welcome. I do hope any mission which goes out of your institution will carry not only the message of art, beautiful and inspiring as that may be, but also the message of the spiritual path which we require and which the world requires more than anything else.

I am very happy to be able to be with you even for this short period.

RASHTRA BHASHA PRACHAR SAMITI

Foundation-Stone Laying Ceremony

13 September, 1956

The work of propagating the national language in this State has been going on for the last 20 years. You have already been told what progress has been made in this direction during this period. Since Independence, it has been felt that this work should be

expedited as far as possible so that Hindi could be adopted as a medium of inter-State contacts and business in the various spheres.

In this connection we should remember a few things, because it is necessary that we avoid misunderstandings which tend to create difficulties, at least psychological difficulties. The first thing which those who speak Hindi should keep in mind is that Hindi is not to be propagated in place of or at the expense of any regional language. All these languages have not only to continue to be used in their respective regions but their growth and enrichment has to be planned, and in this work every possible help should be extended by all sections of the people. If this fact is lost sight of, the result would be that in non-Hindi speaking areas Hindi *prachar* would inspire opposition rather than trust and popular interest. Therefore, while encouraging Hindi, nothing should be done which impedes the progress of regional languages; and it should be clearly understood that in those areas Hindi has to be used only for purposes of inter-State contacts. We find sometimes Hindi being pitched against regional languages whereas actually their rival is English and not Hindi.

As we know, universities are springing up in all the States and they are encouraging the local languages spoken there. To promote the growth and systematic development and to enrich the literatures in those languages has devolved as a primary duty on these universities. Some of these universities have already adopted regional languages as the media of instruction, and we can be sure that in such of them where it has not been done so far, the switch-over to the language of the region is bound to take place sooner or later. It is, therefore, a mistake to imagine that when English ceases to be the medium of instruction in the universities, its place would be taken by Hindi in all of them. In your own State, which is a bilingual State, Hindi and Marathi have been recognised as media of university instruction and more and more work is being done through them in Government offices and the universities. This trend will continue to gain momentum even when this part of Madhya Pradesh will join another State. Even there the two regional languages, Marathi and Gujrati will dominate the scene of university education. Actually, the Gujarat and Poona universities have already accepted Gujarati and Marathi respectively in place of English. These universities have accepted the enrichment and development of their respective languages as one of their principal aims. Similarly, wherever Marathi is spoken, English will be

replaced by Marathi, just as in Hindi-speaking areas Hindi will take its place, and in the South, the four South Indian languages will replace it. But in the sphere of business, country-wide contacts, etc., English will be replaced by Hindi. To assign a sphere for the national language wider than this is neither necessary nor, in my opinion, desirable. If there is any misunderstanding in this regard, it is the duty of all those who speak or work for Hindi to remove it.

The other thing which must always be kept in view is that the proper growth of all Indian languages and the enrichment of their literatures is our desideratum. I presided over the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan held here in 1936. I still remember that in my address I laid emphasis on the fact that it was not in the interest of Hindi to boycott words of non-Hindi stock. Words of exotic origin which are now current in Hindi should not be excluded and replaced by Hindi or Sanskrit words. I am of the same opinion even today. I feel that Hindi should keep its doors open to words of other languages which have been or can be absorbed in it. Take the case of English. If you take an English dictionary and compare its latest edition with one of its early editions, many additional words will be found to have been added to the language. Some time back I happened to see an old dictionary. That dictionary is hardly one-tenth in volume of the present-day edition of the dictionary, although, in course of time, the types in which the latest edition is printed have grown smaller. This is entirely due to the addition of new words. I am told when the Oxford Dictionary was being compiled, good many new words came to be added to the English language and while the compilers were still tackling concluding portions of the dictionary, a supplement had to be printed in order to accommodate the new words. This shows that English is a living and growing language, which also explains its all-round progress. As our Prime Minister said the other day, 70 per cent of the scientific and technical journals of the world are brought out in English. If the supporters of the English language had adopted the policy of boycotting words of foreign origin and decided to confine themselves to words known to Chaucer and Shakespeare, it would not have made this phenomenal progress.

We want that all the help that other languages can give for enriching Hindi should be gladly accepted and the different shades and meanings of Hindi words in other languages should be properly studied. I am not sure if academicians would accept this proposal, but eventually they will have to do it and accept not only words of

other languages, but also countenance some relaxation in the rigid rules of Hindi grammar. Today about 42 per cent of our people speak Hindi. If the remaining 58 per cent are also to learn the language, rigid adherence to old forms of grammar will have to be given up. I have seen some Hindi works written by Marathi-speaking and Bengali-speaking writers who were by no means scholars of Hindi but only of their respective languages. These works had a distinctive style and mode of expression. We must show some indulgence to such variations in style and consider them as part of Hindi. I hope this is the way to ensure the development and popularisation of Hindi.

We also hear sometimes that some people are not favourably inclined towards Hindi. They say that English is a more widely understood language and we would not be able to do without it. As in the case of Hindi organisations in the North and elsewhere, I have also been connected with the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha in whose functions I have often participated. When I was there last month, Shri M. Satyanarayana told me that in the South where Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam were spoken, the number of English-knowing people did not exceed one million. These figures he took from the latest census report. The number of people who knew Hindi, on the other hand, was not less than five million, that is, five times the number of English-knowing people. How can, therefore, we say that people in the South did not know Hindi. It is another matter if some of those people are scholars of English, whereas those who learn Hindi do not generally attain to those scholarly heights. That is perhaps because it is not necessary, for the present, to make an intensive study of Hindi. As English is still being used as the language of newspapers and administration in Government offices, it creates the delusion that the use of English is more common and that English-knowing people are larger in number than those who have studied Hindi and passed various examinations in it. The statistics I have given, however, are really surprising. It is hoped that more facts about it would be known when the Official Language Commission's Report is published. I do not think, therefore, it is so very difficult to make Hindi our national language.

Sometimes it is also said that more people are not cultivating Hindi because its study has not been made compulsory. This question arose in Madras a few years ago. The Government did

not make Hindi compulsory but instead appointed a Hindi teacher in every school. Even under this arrangement, about 70 to 80 per cent students in Madras are studying Hindi. It is, indeed, a happy augury that such a large percentage of students is studying the Hindi language even when it is an optional subject.

Let me hope the work of Hindi *prachar* will continue to progress throughout the country. In Maharashtra and Gujarat where a very large number of people know Hindi, this work should not be difficult at all. In Maharashtra even those who do not know Hindi, are not opposed to it. It is not the intention that anyone should give up his mother-tongue ; on the other hand, all languages spoken in the country should be provided an opportunity of all-round development. Their literature must be enriched. At the same time Hindi should be cultivated in non-Hindi-speaking areas only for transacting all-India or inter-State business. Let me hope your efforts in this direction will be crowned with success.

INTERNATIONAL ACADEMY OF INDIAN CULTURE

Foundation-stone Laying Ceremony

30 November, 1956

I am grateful to Dr. Raghuvira, Director of the International Academy of Indian Culture, to have asked me to lay the foundation-stone of the Academy's building and to inaugurate the *Satapitaka*. I associate myself with both of these functions with pleasure. For some time past I have been familiar with the objects of and the work done by the International Academy of Indian Culture, and I feel that despite its limited resources the Academy has been doing valuable work in the field of research. I believe there are some other institutions also carrying on researches in Indology and other branches of ancient thought, but I do not think any one of them has been able to cover such a range of subjects and such a wide field as to include South-East Asia, the Middle East and Central

Asia as the International Academy of Indian Culture. Seeing the importance of this work, it seems essential that the Academy should be encouraged in its work, as far as possible.

Search for knowledge is as interesting a pursuit as the acquiring of it. The ancient knowledge, which recorded history and old monuments unravel to us, has its limitations. These sources of history do not carry us very far and in some cases they do not tell us enough of the currents and cross-currents of popular thought. Luckily, we have another source of having a peep into the dim and forgotten past. That source consists of ancient works and manuscripts found in a variety of languages and scripts. An examination of this data and its proper integration can also add to our knowledge of that period.

Not much by way of research has till now been done so far as the countries of the East are concerned, although scholars are of the view that exchange of thought and mutual give-and-take on the intellectual level has not been less in Asia than in other parts of the world. By not assimilating this knowledge, we are not only keeping our information incomplete but are also unable to assess correctly man's intellectual progress through the ages. That is why proper integration of the bits of knowledge scattered in various lands is not only essential for the lifting of the curtain over patches of ignorance but also for having an integrated history of the intellectual evolution of man. Researches of this kind, therefore, register an advance in our knowledge in addition to throwing a flood of light on the mutual relationship subsisting among peoples of different lands and enabling us to know the result of their common efforts in pursuit of knowledge.

The story as to how thoughts travel almost like electricity from one place to another influencing and inspiring peoples of far-flung lands, is extremely interesting. Short stories of ancient India and our social and religious thoughts spread in far off territories crossing many seas and scaling many a high mountain peak. In the same way, the Buddhist faith and thought and the Buddhist conception of art travelled to foreign lands at a time when, comparatively speaking, the means of communication were, more or less, non-existent. Persistent efforts of devout thinkers and scholars gave wings to those thoughts and like saplings planted them in other countries where they blossomed and bore fruit. In all these countries Buddhist thought and traditions were assimilated in and influenced by local thought.

It has been the effort of the International Academy of Indian Culture to present all those currents of thought in a readily assimilable and integrated form. It is gratifying to note that in its efforts the Academy has met with considerable success as a result of which it is going to launch its publication programme, making a beginning with *Satapitaka*. The *Satapitaka* is a collective record, an integrated view of the many currents of thoughts that crossed each other throughout vast territories in the Himalayan fastnesses of Tibet and from the Pacific Islands of Indonesia upto the snow-covered steppes in Siberia and Central Asia. Indian thought had influenced all this vast area in ancient times. I hope the publication of *Satapitaka* will throw much light on the undetermined history of these ancient countries and the exchange of thought that once took place among them. I am glad that the International Academy of Indian Culture has planned the publication of such a monumental work.

All this information about the ancient history of Eastern countries and their mutual relationship is coming to us at a time when there is an upsurge of awakening discernible in them. This knowledge is, therefore, of particular importance to us. Not only the countries of Asia but all the nations of the world are getting closer to one another, and all of them feel that the world can be saved from destructive wars by strengthening mutual ties of goodwill and friendship. Our knowledge of the relations which subsisted among the various countries in ancient times is bound to lend strength to the basis of international friendship. Let us hope that the publication of *Satapitaka* and also the new awakening will inspire a sense of intellectual unity and neighbourliness among peoples inhabiting a large part of the world. May the penetrating researches and the light of knowledge remove the accretions caused by successive upheavals and the unending revolutions of the wheel of time, enabling us to see the peoples inhabiting the eastern hemisphere as one family!

I must compliment Dr. Raghuvira, the Founder-Director of the International Academy of Indian Culture, on his erudition and perseverance, which have enabled him to take in hand a work of such great significance. I hope this important work will continue and the gaps which exist today in our knowledge of ancient history and literature will be bridged by the publications of the International Academy of Indian Culture.

I welcome this commendable effort of the Academy and wish it all success.

UNIVERSITY ADDRESSES

KANYA MAHAVIDYALAYA, JULLUNDUR

Convocation Address

29 September, 1952

I can never resist a call from an educational institution, because I have been associated with such institutions throughout and have always taken a keen interest in education. I was therefore, happy to accept your invitation; it is a pleasure to be in your midst and to confer degrees on many of the students assembled here.

You are fortunate indeed to receive education in the Kanya Mahavidyalaya—for this institution occupies an important place in this State and has made a remarkable contribution to the advancement of our women. This institution was founded many years ago by a true social-reformer who was inspired by lofty and sacred ideals of emancipation of women and national advancement and who had genuine reverence for womanhood. We have in our country two types of educational institutions—those established by our English rulers for the achievement of their own ends and those founded independently by patriots and nationalists with a view to reviving our civilization and rebuilding our cultural traditions. The Kanya Mahavidyalaya was founded many years ago in pursuance of these sacred ideals, and those of you who are entering life after having completed your education in such an institution are really fortunate. You have obtained this higher degree, of course, but to have done so from this institution should also be a treasure of your life which must add to your laurels.

Those of you who have received their degrees are now stepping out of the limited sphere of the Gurukul into the vast arena of life—an arena of activity and struggle. You have on your shoulders heavy responsibilities, but I am confident that your experience and education will enable you to bear them with grace. So far you were students—now you will lead a practical life and you have to march ahead in the face of multifarious problems. I hope the education you have received here will give you strength and energy to face

them as responsible citizens of an independent country. But for that you should have a clear picture of what you are going to do in life.

I believe you all know that women occupied a position of great importance and dignity in ancient India—that they played an enviable role in domestic and social life and made a splendid contribution to an all-round development of society by virtue of their ingenuity, intellect and spirit of sacrifice. I need hardly remind you how they distinguished themselves in various arts and sciences—Mathematics, Ethics, Theology, Economics, Medicine, Domestic Science, etc., etc. The achievements of Sita, Savitri, Gargi and Kalavati are proud memories for us. The character of our women in the past was exalted and traditions glorious, and they can still be cited as examples for the women today.

I am saying all this to bring home to you that the woman is an incarnation of divinity (devi), a sustainer (dhatri), a creative energy which conduces to the growth and welfare of human society. By virtue of this creative power you can work in and outside the home for an all-round progress of society. Thus your responsibility is commensurate with your power. I attach great importance to the education of girls for these and similar reasons. However noble be our ideals and whatever system of Government we establish, however liberal and equitable be our economic and social philosophy, we cannot bring lasting peace and prosperity to our country unless the physical and mental make-up of our coming generation has sound foundation. I, therefore, hold that women can play a much more vital role in the home than in the factory or in the office. This, however, does not mean that I want them to be confined within the four walls of the house. Along with their domestic life they can and should participate successfully in various social activities to which they are naturally and equally entitled. But real freedom and liberty only mean that the woman employs all her faculties not only for her individual development but also for the total development of the society, leading ultimately to the welfare of humanity at large, wherein is included her individual self also.

According to the ancient traditions and lofty ideals of Indian womanhood, you have not only to educate yourself but also to progress thereafter in all directions as the companions of men. After freedom, now, you have also to play your part in the work of national reconstruction. This is possible only when we amend our present system of education to suit our purpose. Here also our country is faced with conflicting ideologies. The modern

Reformists—those who style themselves as Progressivists—contend that boys and girls should be educated together under the same system of education. They hold that the woman should be treated on a basis of equality not only in the domain of education but in all fields and walks of life, that she should have complete social freedom and should be able to participate in all activities and occupations as an equal partner of man. These people want that the system of education should also be modelled accordingly. Diametrically opposed is the view of the orthodox camp. Thus, we have today conflicting ideologies regarding the education of women. We have naturally to consider carefully which of these two will suit us better and help in the advancement of our culture and civilization. If you ask me, I shall, of course, advise you to choose the middle-course effecting a compromise between the two.

The one main defect of modern education, beside various other flaws and shortcomings, is that it is very expensive. Every year we are turning out from our universities thousands of students who—at least many of them—fail to get employment and find it difficult to make both ends meet. Thus our universities are on the one hand adding to the number of the unemployed and on the other breeding dandies in swarms. Girls and boys of ordinary middle-class families, when they go into schools or colleges, fall victims to prevalent fashions and start imitating their fellow-collegians in costly dress and toilets which make their living pretty expensive and thus create difficulties for their guardians. Naturally, after such an expensive education when they go out of their schools and colleges, it is quite likely that their life becomes a burden, because this expensive education cannot be sufficiently lucrative. It cannot get them jobs—and ultimately they begin to feel that it is useless. We have, therefore, to think very carefully whether this system of education is good for us as such or it needs amendment. Wisdom does not lie in blind adherence to conventions.

The question before us is—and we must give it due thought; what changes or amendments should be made in our present system of education so that it can effectively help our boys and girls to lead a successful and self-dependent life? In this context, quite naturally, we recall to our minds a different system—a system which not only educates but also equips a student to become self-reliant and earn for himself. A system can be really fruitful if besides imparting liberal education it also teaches the dignity of labour to the student and makes him work. This new system of education was called by

Mahatma Gandhi as Nai Talim. In this system an all-round development of personality is attempted through constructive work. Our institutions can greatly benefit by this method and create a healthy atmosphere of self-reliance within their premises. This would help in solving the problem of unemployment to a certain extent and also develop those faculties of our children on which the real progress of mankind ultimately depends.

For a woman, in particular, efficiency is indispensable. She should be able to co-operate fully with man in home life. She should be a good house-wife and should not look down upon the smallest household duties. It would be unfortunate if higher education led women to shirk or shun their domestic duties. A woman's real dignity lies in her efficiency and self-reliance. Some interpret independence narrowly as being equipped for a job or a profession. But true independence implies minimum dependence on others. Is it not independence to manage the entire work of the household? Conversely, is it not the worst form of dependence to need a nurse for the up-bringing of one's children—nay even for giving them a breast-feed. Therefore, true self-reliance means minimum dependence whether of the mistress on the maid or *vice versa*.

Nature and God have chosen woman for the task of perpetuating the human race (which she alone can do). Women as well as society must realise the implications of this proud and unique responsibility and it must be reflected in whatever system of education is adopted for them. It is not necessary that both men and women should do all types of work. This is not Nature's dispensation. The woman must therefore equip herself for her primary responsibility—a responsibility which does not end but begins with procreation and entails life-long effort for the betterment of man. Our girls must be educated in all these basic duties of women so that they can play their role in the advancement of the nation.

I thank you once again because you and your institution are devoted to this great mission of the emancipation of women, to the development of society in its real sense and to the welfare of humanity as a whole. I do hope you will always keep in view the advancement of human culture and the role of women therein, and work accordingly so that your institution becomes a veritable shrine of love and co-operation, diffusing peace and purity in Indian life through truth and non-violence.

In the end, I once again congratulate the girls who are now entering life after receiving education at such a centre of learning and culture. I wish them every success.

VISHWA-BHARATI, SANTINIKETAN*

Convocation Address

23 December, 1952

I consider it a great privilege to have this opportunity of coming to this sacred spot hallowed by the dedicated life of Maharshi and the centre selected by Gurudev to establish his dear institution enshrining his ideals and aspirations. Gurudev had laid the seed of this institution and had watered it with all his strength and unceasing daily service. It is our misfortune that he is no more present bodily amidst us, but we know that the spirit is immortal and through various forms and in various ways it goes on inspiring and nourishing good deeds in the world. Every particle of this land has the impress of his footprint. There is not a pebble nor a plant nor a tree nor a single corner of the buildings and houses here which does not have on it the imprint of his personality and which is not illumined by his divine light. So it would be presumptuous on my part to say anything about it, but even then it may not perhaps be inapt to place again before you and others the position and history of Santiniketan and Vishwa-Bharati in the context of the present-day conditions.

Many decades ago, the Santiniketan Ashram had been founded by Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, the revered father of Gurudev, as a retreat for religious meditation and contemplation. Since its establishment, it has passed through three stages of evolution. For some time, it was mainly a centre of spiritual life, but in the early years of this century, Gurudev founded here the Bolpur Brahmacharya Ashram, where children used to receive education after their

* Translated from the original.

initiation into Brahmacharya. In 1923, it reached the third stage and the Vishwa-Bharati University was established here. Since its very inception, its evolution has taken place in a beautiful environment and spiritual atmosphere. So, it was but natural that the ideals of this University were settled in accordance with that innate spirituality and were so stated in the memorandum prepared for registration at that time :

"To study the mind of man in its realisation of different aspects of truth from diverse points of view.

To bring into more intimate relation with one another through patient study and research, the different cultures of the East on the basis of their underlying unity.

To approach the West from the standpoint of such a unity of the life and thought of Asia.

To seek to realise in a common fellowship of study the meeting of East and West, and thus ultimately to strengthen the fundamental conditions of world peace through the establishment of free communication of ideas between the two hemispheres.

And with such Ideals in view to provide at Santiniketan aforesaid a centre of culture where research into and study of the religion, literature, history, science and art of Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Islamic, Sikh, Christian and other civilizations may be pursued along with the culture of the West, with that simplicity in externals which is necessary for true spiritual realisation in amity, good fellowship and co-operation between the thinkers and scholars of both Eastern and Western countries, free from all antagonisms of race, nationality, creed or caste, and in the name of the One Supreme Being, who is Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam."

If one examines these aims, it becomes evident that Gurudev desired to realise mainly three objectives through the Vishwa-Bharati : Firstly, it was his conviction that the rising generation of students should share in the experience which the human mind has had or is having of the various forms and aspects of truth, which can alone be termed as true education. He insisted that every educational institution should try to assist its students in sharing in this experience. Secondly, it was his view that even though the conception of truth in different countries of the world has assumed different and differing forms, yet in the countries of both the East

and the West there is an underlying fundamental unity behind its various manifestations. He wanted this institution to study the various manifestations of truth in the different countries of the East and the West. On the basis of this fundamental unity and study of the different cultures of all the countries, he desired that the people of the East should be brought into cultural harmony with those of the West and thus enabled to have better understanding of and respect for the ideals and ideas of one another so that they might together and by mutual co-operation establish in the world the fundamental and essential conditions of peace. Thirdly, it was his heart's desire that this cultural centre should become the voice of the World's conscience. Here men may have a commerce of feelings and ideals on the basis of their fundamental unity and under the divine shadow of the great Lord who is Shantam, Shivam and Advaitam. In complete freedom from all considerations and mental barriers of colour, nationality, religion and caste, the people here may create such a new consciousness in the entire world that man will no longer be a prisoner within narrow national limits, but be at one with the world community. It was with this view that he adopted the motto, for his University, "Yatra Vishwa-Bharati eka Nidam".

For the realisation of these ideals, Gurudev considered it essential that the mutual relations between the teachers and the taught should be of a special kind and their ways of living also should be in harmony with those ideals. As I said, to his mind, the purpose of this University was to pursue the study of Truth and the complete Truth with single-minded devotion and in a dedicated and sacrificial spirit and with great perseverance. It is quite evident that if this pursuit of Truth is to be carried on in a proper manner, the teachers and the pupils should have a special attitude of their own towards life. They must accept this pursuit of Truth as the supreme obligation of their life, and that no calculation of gain or loss should enter into their mind for a single moment while undertaking it. It was to indicate this truth that Gurudev had once written to one of his teacher-friends that "the period of study for children is a period of dedication. The consummation of one's manhood lies not in Self but in service. This truth was known to our ancestors. They used to term education as basic to the self-realisation of man, as the life of *Brahmacharya*. It did not consist in committing to memory a few bits of learning or in passing examinations. Indeed, the life of *Brahmacharya* was but

another name for striving to identify oneself with the world and one's ancestors. They believed that education consisted in self-restraint, devotion, faith, purity and single-mindedness. It was a kind of religious duty. There are numerous things in the world which can be the subject-matter of sale and purchase but *Dharma* is entirely different from them. It is not an article of commerce. It has to be given in a spirit of charity and has to be accepted by others in a spirit of humility and devotion. It was for this reason that education in ancient India was not an article of sale. Those who are engaged in the teaching profession in the modern times are no doubt teachers but those who taught in the ancient days were *gurus*. Along with knowledge they used to give to their pupils something which could not be given or taken except on the basis of the spiritual relationship of teacher and pupil."

It is evident from this writing of Gurudev that he considered it a duty and obligation of the teacher to illumine the hearts of his pupils by his spiritual light and impart to them a vision of truth which would lead to the fulfilment of their lives. In other words, he wanted that a teacher should be like a lighted lamp which not only illumines the lives of his pupils but also transforms them into so many lighted lamps. An urge to be like such lighted lamps can arise among the teachers only by virtue of their inner nature and aptitudes and they can remain so in their lives only if such service is their ideal and aspiration, and if they feel that the supreme consummation of their lives lies in becoming such lighted candles. It is evident that to fulfil such an urge their lives must be fully balanced and in tune with world consciousness. Pointing to this truth, Gurudev once write : "I hope that the teachers here would be able to harmonise their lives with the life of this *Brahmacharya* Ashram in all eagerness and gladness by developing the ethical consciousness within them and not out of fear of any disciplinary authority. Just as they would be receiving daily the obeisance and service of their pupils, so also they would be able to inspire real faith in the latter by a life of self-sacrifice and self-restraint. Partisanship, impatience, irritation, pride, unhappiness fickleness, small-mindedness and lack of consideration—they must strive to free themselves from all such minor or major evils. All their teachings to their pupils would go to waste if they do not themselves practise sacrifice and restraint and if they fail to do so the purity of this Asram would continue to be polluted. We would have to be extremely careful to see that the pupils might not develop

the attitude of outward respect and inward contempt for their teachers."

A similar sentiment was expressed by him on another occasion in the following words: "We had learnt a great truth about education. We had grasped the truth that man can learn only from man just as a pond fills only with water; a candle is lighted only by a candle and life gets an impulse only from life. By trying to trim a man into a particular form he ceases to be a man, for, then he becomes merely a material for office, court or factory and instead of being a man, he wants to be a master, instead of imparting life, he only imparts a lesson. He becomes then an expert in making the children cram lessons. The process of education flows like blood in a living organism only if it is carried on in an atmosphere of complete spiritual affinity between the teacher and the pupil, for, the real obligation of the nature and culture of the children is on their parents and the assistance of some other capable person becomes extremely important only if the parents either lack the ability or the opportunity to discharge this duty. Naturally, this purpose cannot be served without the teacher taking the place of parents. We cannot purchase this supreme good of life by money. We can make it a part of our lives only through love, devotion and faith." Unfortunately, in this commercial age the cash nexus has invaded the sphere of education and it may be greatly doubted whether it is now possible to think of banishing the cash nexus from that sphere. But no one need deny the truth that to illumine the spirit of the pupil it is essential that the inner being of the teacher must also have been illumined. Though he may take some monetary reward in order to satisfy the cravings of his hunger and to provide himself with the other necessities of life, yet he should approach his vocation of a teacher with the belief that therein alone lies fulfilment of his life, the consummation of his manhood and his perception of the supreme truth and that thereby alone he can achieve salvation from all the sighs and sufferings, pains and poverty, insults and humiliations. I cannot say how far the teachers of today have taken a vow to follow this ideal and how far they have striven to make themselves capable of embracing it. But it was the hope, the faith and the belief of Gurudev that those accepting the obligations of teaching at Vishwa-Bharati would be persons of such firm vows and that they would consider education to mean the process of the kindling of light in the human spirit.

It was because Gurudev accepted humanity as the greatest wealth that he held the view that in all centres of humanism, otherwise known as educational institutions, life should be wholly simple and without ostentation. He was of opinion that material possessions are a hindrance to a certain extent in the self-realisation of the spirit. For he felt that because of these material possessions, a person is shut out from having a correct view of the realities of human life. The world is not a drawing room and so those who want to view it from their seat in the drawing room can never have a correct understanding of it. Pointing out this truth he said: "It is a sign of weakness of character to show discontent and unreasonable annoyance for lack of material possessions. It is quite good that our possessions should be few and we should have a habit of serving our needs with few possessions. If children are able to fulfil all their desires without any effort, they become quite woolly and it prevents their proper development. It is not a fact that children desire too many things. Indeed they are self-content and are able to live happily by themselves. It is we the elders who impose on them the burden of the love of adornment and thus fill them with the craving for material possessions. The object of education from the very beginning should be to habituate the child to begin to think as to how he can serve all his needs with the fewest possible objects. It is only where external help is little that the body and the mind of a person gets proper attention. It is then that the creative spirit of man becomes active. Those in whose being this creative spirit does not become active are swept away by nature like ordinary refuse." Besides this, he was also of the view that for true education it was essential that the individual should be able to harmonise himself with Nature because he felt that the individual is but an aspect of the consciousness that palpitates in the bosom of both Nature and Life. In the red glow of the morning sun, in the murmuring stream of the river, in the crown of snow of the mountains and in the leaves and shadows of trees, one perceives glimpses of the same consciousness which is illuminating the heart of man. And so it was his belief that man could not realise himself so long as he did not realise the consciousness that was in the bosom of Nature and had not perceived his unity with it. It was for this reason that he founded this institution in the heart of beautiful Nature and instead of expecting the students to confine themselves within the four walls of the lecture-rooms and to go on cramming books, he asked them to strive to be in tune with Nature

here. More than this, he was of the view that no education could be considered to be true education unless it was complete in all respects—that is to say, unless it sought to realise truth in all its aspects—whether it manifested in human society or in the individual personality or in the phenomena of Nature or in the devoted pursuit of Beauty and Truth. So he also insisted that the life of teachers and pupils alike should be closely bound up with the life of the people with bonds of sympathy and intimacy. It was a matter of regret to him that “persons receiving education in universities did not even think of the great human mass silently moving forward in an invisible manner”. He was also of the view that “if out of our indifference we pay no attention to the people, the latter would not wait for attracting our attention but would move forward, for the new life of the new age was unceasingly working within them to make them forge ahead. One cannot understand one’s country and people unless one is aware of the direction in which these changes are occurring and the form that they are taking. I do not say that to know the country is our ultimate aim. But I do feel that our life would acquire great significance if we become familiar with the tendencies and urges that are influencing the masses in whatever country they may be. True education consists in directly reading the book of life rather than printed books. Such a course enables one not only to understand but also gives such capacity of understanding as cannot be acquired in class rooms.”

Education is thus another aspect of Truth itself. So his vision was not circumscribed by any narrow walls of region, religion, colour, caste or sex. It is true that he had deep love for his country, for its history and its culture. He has in one place said: “I want the students of this institution to cultivate devoted love for the country. Just as the parents are incarnations of divinity, so also is the country. Just as the parents must be worshipped, so also should the country. But I want to pay special attention to see to it that the students here may not develop the habit of making light of their country in comparison with any other out of any inferiority complex, indifference or contempt. We would never be able to fulfil ourselves by going against our national genius.”

But his love for the country did not in the least imply that people here were to remain indifferent or contemptuous towards other nations and peoples. On the contrary, it was his belief that the pursuit of Truth could never be considered complete until and

unless mankind rising above these narrow boundaries devoted itself in all co-operation and mutual love to the pursuit of Truth and Truth alone. It was with this view that he invited to this cultural centre scholars and thinkers of repute from Asia, Europe and America and asked them to illumine the minds of the young men of the rising generation of this country with the flame of their experience, and it was his earnest desire that it should become the centre of a new humanity on earth and that it should become the voice of the renascent man. He did not want to make it a centre of mere bookish education and in fact he considered that loading the mind of the young with book-learning was extremely injurious. Pointing out this Truth he has said in one place that "there cannot be a more dangerous burden on the mind of the young than lifeless education. In comparison to whatever little such an education gives to the mind it crushes out much more from it." Therefore, he insisted that education should be vital and he felt that it could be vital only when it concerned itself with the whole Truth, with the whole of mankind and with the world consciousness. He used to say that "however this may be done, we have to capture the spirit of Man", for he was of the view that "no Vaidyaraj could save us from destruction merely by making us swallow a pill of any particular system."

It was, therefore, that, from the very beginning, he made this institution the centre of a new humanity—in which each individual has love for human values delighted by the beauties of nature, is the single-minded devotee of the ethical consciousness in the bosom of the universe and has completely identified himself with the World Spirit.

Today the Government has given legal recognition to this institution and has also assumed responsibility for providing financial aid to it, but the heart and body of this institution, its soul and consciousness have been shaped neither by the money of the State nor by the articles of law. It is indeed the visible embodiment of the spirit of Gurudev and so I feel that it is the duty of all of us to guard the purity of its original form and unceasingly strive to make it move in the direction in which he had set its face. Today Gurudev is beckoning to us to discharge this duty. It is his obligation on us and it is our duty to his memory that you should serve whole-heartedly and with all your resources this institution which is a trust left by him and which is a symbol and promise of the new human culture and consciousness. May God give you the strength

and the courage to discharge successfully this great responsibility that you owe Gurudev.

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

Presidential Address

21 February, 1953

I am grateful for the opportunity that has been afforded to me to meet you this afternoon. During the last four or five days I have been visiting places which have afforded solace to millions and millions of people for ages past and which are going to afford solace of a similar kind to generations yet to be born. While visiting these places I have also seen the great architecture which is a speciality of these parts, the like of which you do not see in that part of the country from which I come. I have been reminded time and again of the greatness of those who conceived the idea of erecting these temples, of those who actually worked on them and ultimately succeeded in creating these works of perfect art, and I must confess that I feel somewhat jealous, because I cannot find that kind of thing in the North to compare with these great things in the South. I do not regard them or regard you as different from me or from that part of the country from which I come. Therefore, I feel that our ancestors, our seers and sages, in their great wisdom, have bound us all together by silken ties which time, vicissitudes, foreign invasions and political upheavals have not been able to cut asunder. And, today, India, right from Kanya Kumari to Kailash, from Jagannath Puri to Dwarka is one, and God willing, shall ever continue to remain one. We have had differences of language, of custom, of ways of living prevalent in this country for centuries. But underlying all these differences there has been an under-current of unity, nay of full unity which has kept India together in spite of political differences in this vast land.

It has been rightly pointed out by you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, that there is a genius of reconciling different ideas which is inherent

in our land and it is that genius which has preserved this ancient land, its glory, its civilization and its culture which are even today, I make bold to say, not inferior to that of any other part of the world. Until, say, two centuries ago, our people in this country were in no way inferior to any other part of the world in any matter, be that in the sphere of arts or sciences. During the last two centuries or so, we have, for reasons which I need not dilate upon at this moment, fallen far behind others in modern scientific knowledge and scientific research. We have now won our freedom and it is a well recognised fact of history that whenever such a great event takes place as the winning of freedom, a great renaissance follows which conquers new land, brings new ideas and brings into play forces which give new light to every department of life. We are hoping that with the beginning of this freedom we are going to have a great revolution in this country which will bring out the best that we have; and also, I will not hesitate to say, take the best that others may have to offer us. This process began, if I may say so, ten years ago.

With the achievements of material sciences, there is a general stampede in favour of material things. We are sometimes in a hurry to discard things which have come down to us from generations past simply because we cannot reconcile them with modern things. But I say with great respect to all friends who hold that view that the scientific spirit requires that nothing should be discarded and nothing should be accepted without examination or analysis, and I plead that, there is much in our past which has to be studied and examined, the true meaning of which has to be appreciated, and when that is done, I have no doubt in my mind whatsoever that we shall never have reason to feel sorry later. I have no doubt, we shall, in that event, ever be able to look to other people with a certain amount of pride. For, after all, our past is not to be despised. It is something which can inspire the present and the future.

Today, the world is passing through a great crisis. Technical achievements in science have reached a stage where unless and until they are controlled and guided by moral and spiritual forces, they will destroy themselves and the world, and there it is that our great heritage can play its part. But can we do that today? I am afraid, not. We have to acquire that position for ourselves by reviving something of the past, by modernising it and adapting it to modern conditions and also by adopting something of the modern world to equip ourselves for that great task. Unfortunately, a great leader

who understood the significance of the past and the significance of the modern world is no more with us. Gandhiji was in his own way trying to bring out a conciliation between the two. He had, I believe, hoped to be able to live long enough to give true guidance to the world at large. While he was engaged in the struggle for freedom, he refused to go to foreign countries because he felt that he had no message to give to the world until he had found a good place for it in his own country. When freedom was achieved, and if God permitting, things had settled down, he would have been able to give his great message of reconciliation to the world. Unfortunately, that was not to be. The great legacy that he has left us is there and it is for us to prove ourselves worthy of that great legacy if we can.

I look upon our universities as centres where this kind of conciliation would grow, where this kind of life should be actually lived, where teachers and the taught should not rest content with only a certain amount of undigested information but also mould the character which will not be satisfactory until it brings about complete harmony between word and deed. That is what we want our universities to do. Unfortunately universities have had a history of their own and they have not been able to get out of that yet. I have expressed my dissatisfaction with them on various occasions and I am therefore pleased to hear from you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, that you are going to attempt something in that direction, which I look upon as a great experiment for the future of our country. After all, it is the young people who are going to run the country after a few years and unless they prepare themselves and are helped by their teachers to get themselves prepared, we cannot expect that they will be able to run the country as we wish it to be run. Therefore, the responsibility that falls on the teachers and the taught is great and I hope and trust that in our own time this university will grow into a centre from where you will turn out young people not only intelligently educated, not only full of information of the latest things, but also men with character who will be able to take the leadership of the country when the time comes.

You have rightly said that in the universities there should be no imposition of discipline from outside. There should be discipline from within. If you permit me, I would go further and say that the student should not require any discipline even from the teacher. He should discipline himself. That is the best kind of discipline. Someone else has said that that Government is the best which governs the least. I am a believer in that saying and when I say

that, I do not mean that each one of you who is present here, should take whatever action you like according to your own notions, but I mean that there should be discipline in your own actions which would prevent you from doing anything which is harmful, which is not consistent with dignity or honour and if you have that dignity and that kind of character and that kind of discipline, it will not be necessary for the Vice-Chancellor or any of the teachers to take any action against you. I sometimes wonder if the Indian Penal Code prevents our people from committing theft. It is really an inherent sense of right and wrong which prevents the people from committing crimes. If you look at it and consider it, it is a very simple matter, but most people do not give thought to it. You will find that it is not the Penal Code, but your own inherent sense of right and wrong that prevents you from committing crime. The Penal Code is used in exceptional cases for preventing it. The discipline that the university imposes upon you should be even lesser than that. This can happen only when you develop your own honour, your own sense of right and wrong, your own sense of treating your brothers and sisters with regard and consideration. You must develop that kind of character which will enable you to run the country in the future.

I am, therefore, very happy that you are also going to inaugurate here the Faculty for the cultivation of fine arts. In university education, generally speaking, importance should be laid on this, particularly in older universities, and I think something has been done in recent years in this regard. Speaking of the days when I was a student, there was nothing of these things in our curricula. Life becomes dreary unless it has something which could be given to others and it is this which finally gives joy. Let not fine arts be based on strife. Let them be sublimated into something which rouses the highest spiritual feelings. We have got living examples of this in the temples of these parts. I wish you to cultivate this art in that spirit.

It is a good thing that your university is going to take up that faculty also as one of its departments. We have now reached a stage when great things have to be achieved. We were engaged till a few years ago in the struggle for freedom but that was against a foreign power. That struggle is, I hope, now over. But a different kind of struggle has to be faced and that struggle is how to raise our people in material prosperity, how to make them better men and women, and happier. This struggle is no less difficult, no less momentous ;

in fact, I feel that this struggle is even more difficult than the one we launched against a foreign power. And therefore, it is essential that the very best that you are capable of should be offered at the shrine of the country, so that generations which are to come in the future will remember that the foundations were laid well by those who had fought and won freedom, that the foundations for the future too had been built by them and those who came in contact with them were brought up to take up responsibilities. In turn, you have to carry this torch and pass it on to generations who come after you and so on. There is no end to progress in this world and India will one day again become what it was once, a land of which we were proud and of which other countries were envious. It is not an idle dream. It can be achieved and, God willing, it shall be achieved.

We hear the question of North and the South sometimes mentioned. In spite of differences of language, there has been an undercurrent of thought and spirit which has been a marked feature for ages. It is up to you and to us, that is, the people of the North and the South, to strengthen this bond further. In that lies the future and the salvation of our country—and I promise that whatever little strength is left in me shall be devoted to the strengthening of the culture that binds us all together and removing obstacles that operate in the way of our recognising each other's strength and weakness, and of becoming even in a more real sense members of one family, held together by love, by associations, by the vision of the future which will be as glorious as the past. I thank you all.

PATNA UNIVERSITY

*Convocation Address**

11 March, 1953

This is the first time after this university assumed its present form that I have come here to say a few words to its Professors and

* Translation of Address in Hindi.

students. Amongst the Universities which can be termed new in the sense that not even half a century has passed since their establishment, this University—except the Banaras University—may perhaps be said to be the oldest. But it was only a little time ago that it assumed its present form, and from that point of view it may be said to be the youngest of the new Universities. Naturally its traditions have not yet become so rigid as to make it difficult for it to move in any direction it chooses for itself. I, therefore, expect it to maintain a system of education which would enable it to fulfil all the purposes which education has in the life of man. I have observed on several occasions and at several places previously that our present educational system, whether of the primary or secondary schools or of the universities does not seem to be fulfilling those purposes and that, at any rate, it is not fulfilling those objectives in a balanced way. With your permission, I would like to say a few words about this question today.

In my view the objectives of education are three, two of which relate more or less to the life of the individual as such while the third is concerned with his collective life. Its first objective is to enhance the power and capacity of reason of the individual given to him by God. It is true that reason is a gift made by nature or God to man at the time of his birth. But in its pristine form its capacity and power are extremely limited. If a person were to be left to depend on his untutored reason alone he would not be able to use it for any good to himself or to his fellows due to severe limitations of space and time. But if this rational faculty is enriched by the accumulated experience of the past generations, its power and capacity are increased very greatly, for then, the individual is able to grasp numerous truth of great utility relating to himself and the animate and inanimate world around him which he could not possibly have learnt by means of his own unaided reason. In other words, the educational process makes his reason so powerful and capable as to understand the nature of his own personality and that of the animate and inanimate world around him and while living in it to direct his life in the right channel. It is, therefore, not improper to say that education, in one sense, is a process of acquainting and enriching every new generation with the accumulated experience and knowledge of the past generations and thereby enhancing the capacity and power of their reason.

The second objective of education is to so train the senses of every individual human being as will enable him to employ them

for fulfilling successfully all his physical and other needs. While knowledge is, no doubt, essential for a proper employment of these organs, their practical training is also necessary for the same purpose. However vigorous or energetic a man may be, he cannot effectively undertake any work unless his bodily organs are also properly trained and have some experience of that kind of work.

The third purpose of education, in my view, is that it should evoke in the individual the qualities necessary to enable him to live and work with his fellow-beings. Whether a person likes it or not, he has to live in society. No one can wholly retire from the world and live in an isolated cottage of his own. The life of complete solitude is nothing but a beautiful fancy of the poet; it is not and cannot be a fact of life. It is possible that an individual may live in solitude for a little time but he cannot do so for all his life. So when collective life is an inevitable and ineluctable fact of human life, it is absolutely necessary that every individual should be fully conversant with the art of collective living.

In the ages gone by, when the scale of collective life was quite limited and when economic processes had not become highly concentrated, there was no great necessity for an organised effort to achieve these three objectives or to maintain at every instant a balance amongst them. But today when the scale of collective life is almost world-wide and when economic processes have become concentrated beyond imagination, it has become highly necessary to make intense efforts to help the individual realise these objectives in his life not only in the realm of mind but also in that of action.

So it is that in the past few decades people have been feeling in all parts of the world the necessity for a fundamental change in the educational system inherited by them from the past. In fact we find that different kinds of changes have been taking place in the educational system of different countries of the world. I would not be wrong if I say that in the educational sphere also a revolution has been taking place similar to that which has taken place in the economic and political spheres. In our country and especially in the State of Bihar, unfortunately, there has been no such far-reaching change or revolution in the sphere of education. People here have no doubt been thinking about this problem but I am afraid that so far there has been no outward effect worth mentioning of such reflections.

It is true that our educational institutions are fulfilling to a certain extent the first objective of education. The alumni of these

institutions are, no doubt, being acquainted with some part of the accumulated wisdom of the past generations but the purpose for which such acquaintance is undertaken, that is to say, to awaken and strengthen and make more capable the individual mind, is not being fulfilled. Our young men and women of the rising generation are not found to be focii of thought. It is true that from these institutions come out, now and then, some rare individuals whose mind is full alert, awakened, and quite forceful. But I feel that it would not be proper to say in the name of these few and rare individuals that our present educational institutions are illumining the heart of man. In my view there are several reasons for failure in this direction. I may mention here some of the most important.

Firstly, a great part of the accumulated knowledge or experience of the past generations with which our young people are being acquainted in these educational institutions, has absolutely no relation or relevance to the daily life of these young people or to the world around them or to their collective life. Naturally this heritage of the past appears to these young people somewhat unmeaningful, useless and unassimilable. It, therefore, remains a mere burden on their mind and they forget all about it soon after leaving these institutions. Another reason appears to be that the linguistic medium through which they are acquainted with this accumulated experience of the past is not an element of their daily and collective life. It remains more or less unfamiliar to them in spite of their making all efforts to master it. It is, therefore, quite natural that this heritage of ideas, instead of being a torch to light the lamp of their mind, has become a sort of absorbent which soaks up even the oil of that lamp. Whereas this heritage of the past should have been a lever increasing a thousand-fold the capacity of the individual mind, it is in fact a sort of festering sore rendering the latter quite impotent and ineffective.

But the story does not end here. Our educational institutions are doing almost nothing to realise the other two objectives of education. We have hardly any educational institutions where an effort is made to make the individual so efficient in manual work as would enable him to earn by his own labour sufficient wealth to meet all his needs. Arrangements for practical training in trade, agriculture, industry, etc., are almost non-existent in our country. Our primary and secondary schools do not concern themselves at all with this kind of practical training. Even amongst our higher educational institutions, there are only very few which have any.

thing to do with such training. Nearly all of them are at present engaged in acquainting their students with the ideas and thoughts of the past generations or of the elders of the present generation. Naturally we find that the graduates of these institutions are not skilled in practical work though they may be quite good at talking. So long as they had to earn their livelihood as brokers and interpreters of the foreign empire in this country, their ability to talk was useful to them, but today when we have to rear a new India by our own hard labour this skill in talking cannot have that importance. The result is that even those of our graduates who are quite good at talking are now finding considerable difficulty in making a place in life and often have to drink the bitter cup of failure.

Even this is not all. Finding their labour for years to be quite useless and fruitless for their own life, many of our youths are becoming victims of blind discontent and anger. They are not able to see a way out. Moreover they are not even able to acquire a good acquaintance of the heritage of the past with which these institutions seek to familiarise them. In my view, one of the reasons for the fall in the standards of education of which there is a general complaint today, is that our youths do not benefit at all from the education which is being now imparted in our educational institutions.

This poison has not only corroded our individual life but is also now spreading into our collective life. Our present educational system does not concern itself at all with implanting the essential qualities for a collective life amongst our new generation. So if in this situation our new generation remains devoid of the qualities essential for collective life, there should be no reason for surprise. Indeed it appears to me that our present educational system does not at all seem to concern itself with the development of those qualities in our youth which are essential for a good collective life.

Our present educational system is thus as unbalanced and ill-formed as would appear to be a man with a protruding body and skinny feet and legs. Whatever may be the reason for this, the entire effort of our present-day educational institutions seems to be merely to acquaint the students with a very limited aspect of knowledge and not at all to make them skilful at work or good social beings. I, therefore, believe that amongst other reforms necessary in this system, it is also necessary to establish a balance in its objectives.

We in this country must decide as to how many scholars and skilled workers we require for our country. It is quite evident that for every age and for every country both scholars and workers are necessary. But in the circumstances in which our country is placed today we are in need of a larger number of skilled workers as compared to more scholars. We have to expand our economic production as early as possible so as to meet the needs of the millions of our countrymen. I may also add that amongst the conditions that have to be fulfilled for expanding production are a fairly good standard of health of our people and familiarity with modern economic and industrial organisation and processes. We have to work right now to realise these three objectives, and so we need today hundreds of thousands of skilled technicians. These technicians would have to understand that they cannot expect to get a greater share of the national cake merely because of their having technical skill. They would have to approach their task with the faith that, at all costs to themselves, they have to provide conditions which would make the life of our future generations happy and prosperous. It is, therefore, my view that our educational institutions should now start laying more emphasis on technical skill and that there should now be arrangements for providing technical training of different kinds. If technical institutes could be established in every one of our towns and districts or if our present educational institutions there could so transform themselves, I think much of the unbalance in our present educational system would disappear.

I also believe that there should be arrangements in our educational system for implanting qualities essential for collective life. I feel that we should not remain satisfied by trying to impart team-spirit in the game field alone. One of the other ways in which this can be done is to organise teams in our educational institutions which would compete amongst themselves to make their contribution to collective development and progress of our country and would not only become thereby acquainted with the life of our masses but would also become one with them.

It is of course not a matter of doubt that our universities should especially be the centres of the life giving light of knowledge. There should be arrangements there for every kind of research and particularly there should be arrangements for that type of research which is related to the problems of the region in which that university is situated. While I agree that the university should remain detached from the madding noise of our daily life, yet I think that this detach-

ment need not imply that it should not have any concern whatever with our national and regional life. On the other hand I feel that it should be considered to be successful only when it has become such a guide of the region, as after fully understanding the problems of that area, it can show the people there the way to solve their problems successfully. I am afraid that our universities have not so far assumed this role in our lives. But I am convinced that they cannot succeed and cannot be useful for our people without doing so.

I also feel that you here have still to go very far in this direction. On account of its comparative youth, this University has not been able to do much in the sphere of research. I, however, believe that you are quite aware of this and are determined to march forward and achieve success.

Your history at any rate expects this of you. It was in this very region that there was situated that world-renowned university from which flowed the life giving current that continued to fertilise the lives of the people of the entire world for thousands of years. It was from this region that thinkers, craftsmen and saints went out to the civilised world with the message of culture and humanism. You have to re-achieve that immortal renown. I pray to God to give you the strength, the wisdom, the determination and the devotion to duty which are necessary to make this university the fountain-head of a life of culture.

You, the Graduates who are entering the sphere of life today, have my good wishes and blessings with you and I expect that by remaining firm on the path of righteousness and devoting yourself to the service of the people you would be fulfilling yourselves.

UNIVERSITY OF GAUHATI*

I am very happy to be present here today for opening the new building of your University. All that you have said about this new University, which is only six years old, is commendable in many

* Speech made while opening the building of the University, 21 February, 1954.

respects. Although you have not had adequate equipment and the necessary wherewithal in the beginning, these serious shortcomings did not daunt you. In right earnest you started the work.

One might feel sorry, but I am sure no one will feel surprised to know that in its seventh year this University does not possess departments in subjects like Sanskrit and English on the side of Arts and Physics, Chemistry, Anthropology and Geology on the side of Science. I need not say much about the importance of the Sanskrit language which, besides having its own vast treasure house of knowledge, is verily the mother of the present-day Indian languages of the North. The study of English language and literature is also essential for a university student, for it is a language which many in our country have been cultivating for the last 200 years and which is recognized as a medium of international expression by virtue of its being the language of a number of countries. Equally important is the study of Chemistry and Physics which are in a way the basic sciences which go to form the foundations of all technical and scientific knowledge.

As for Anthropology and Geology, these two subjects have special significance for your State. Inhabited as your State is by a number of tribal people speaking different tongues and having different customs and possibly belonging to different ethnic groups, no other State in India provides such favourable conditions and opportunities for the study of Anthropology as yours. In respect of Geology also I feel that its study should have special importance for the University of Gauhati, for the benefit of not only Assam but the whole country. Assam is so rich in mineral wealth which is yet to be tapped. And so far as the production of oil goes, your State has its virtual monopoly in India.

I am glad you have not been discouraged by these short-comings, but on the other hand, you are endeavouring to create departments in these subjects as early as possible. I have not the least doubt that your own Government and the Government of India will, on their part, do all that is possible to enable you to do so. Only recently the Government has set up the Universities Grants Commission. I am sure your case for financial and technical help will receive its consideration.

I must congratulate you on maintaining high academic standards in your University. It has been said in certain quarters that for the last few years some of our universities have relaxed their standards. I cannot vouchsafe how far it would be correct to say

so, but if there is any truth in it, this trend is to be deplored and discouraged, because universities must always look ahead, and after imparting education, must, of necessity, be upright, even strict, in the matter of conferring degrees, distinctions or honours. You have done the right thing in sticking to this ideal from the very beginning.

I am at one with you that in order to be fully useful to the people for whom a university caters, it ought to be a teaching body. I am glad that in your planning you have kept this point in view. I hope the building which you have been good enough to invite me to open today marks the beginning of your undertaking in that direction. Apart from imparting education, which is after all the real aim of a university, it will also help you to co-ordinate and centralize your academic activities.

What has particularly pleased me in the Vice-Chancellor's address is his reference to the fact that your University is likely to provide a great meeting place for the different racial and linguistic groups inhabiting Assam. My own view is that a university, besides being a seat of learning, should also be a centre of real cultural activity. For the mixing of people professing different faiths, speaking different tongues and having different customs and traditions, no other place can be more suitable than a university. This is because a university is singularly free from any kind of bias and the din and turmoil of politics. It provides an ideal atmosphere for all people to come close together and understand each other. I need hardly point out that you will be rendering a great service not only to your State but to the whole of India if you keep this objective before you. You will have rendered a great service to the nation if by sticking to your resolve you succeed in bringing all these groups together by providing them equal opportunities, thereby promoting mutual understanding and the good of all.

I am thankful to the Vice-Chancellor for having invited me to open this building and for giving me an opportunity to address you today. I wish your University a bright future and hope that it will not only succeed in tiding over the temporary difficulties but will in course of time, be counted as one of India's great seats of learning and education.

I do not know in what words to thank you, Mr. Governor, for the kind words that you have spoken about me. I only wish I could deserve even a part of what you have said. I need hardly assure you that I shall not only carry the best of memories with me but also be watching the development of his University with great interest. I

feel sure in course of time you will grow into an institution which will not only cater to the needs of young men hankering after knowledge but also serve as an inspiration for others. I wish you all success.

PRESIDENCY COLLEGE, CALCUTTA*

It has given me genuine pleasure to participate in the centenary celebrations of the Presidency College in response to the Principal's invitation. It is no ordinary occasion even as the Presidency College is no ordinary educational institution. We are celebrating the centenary of a College which has not only witnessed in all its phases the great changes India has been passing through in one of the most significant periods in her long history, but which has contributed through its alumni in a large measure, to the conduct and eventual success of the various national movements launched one after another, till their culmination in the country's liberation in August, 1947.

The Presidency College has been a pioneer in the field of English or western education in India. It occupies that high place, I should think, not merely by virtue of having been one of the earliest, if not the very first college to be established in the country, but also because of the traditions it has built up and the high standards it has established for similar institutions in India to follow. Whatever one might think today of the system of education that was ushered in this country with the founding of this college, it will have to be admitted that while seeking to justify the good done to India by this system, the prominent part played by the Presidency College comes foremost in our minds. In nearly all the spheres of human activity—educational, scientific research, social reform, administration, legal practice, and, last of all, politics—the alumni of this College have since its earliest days played a creditable and prominent role. Nor can the great part played by those who have studied in this College be described as stray achievements.

* Speech on the occasion of the centenary celebrations of the College, 15 January, 1955.

Taken as a whole, they may be said to form part of India's history during the last one hundred years. Its rich contribution to the country's life from the early days of British regime verily entitles the Presidency College to be described as a national monument. I trust I am not exaggerating if I say that the story of the last hundred years of Bengal is the story of the Presidency College writ large.

This College has not just passively witnessed all the upheavals, followed by cataclysmic changes during the last hundred eventful years. It has not merely seen the drama being enacted on our political stage, but it has assiduously prepared many an actor, done a good deal of useful prompting and contributed substantially to the upkeep of the stage in order to keep the drama going. There can be no doubt whatsoever that, in free India, this great institution is destined to play an equally important role for the good of West Bengal and for the glory of India. Having played such an important part in the past, when things were not so auspicious as they are today, when we are a free people and have our destinies in our own hands, may it not be hoped it will be able to make an equally significant contribution in fashioning and determining the future of this country?

We can, therefore, justly feel proud of the achievements of this great College. Its old alumni—and I have the proud privilege of being one of them—will particularly feel happy on this memorable occasion to see our alma mater entering the second century, after completing one hundred years of its noteworthy existence. With pardonable modesty it could be claimed that its alumni have blazed a trail in many a sphere of national activity. Let us today pay our homage to all those great names, associated with this College, who by sheer dint of labour, sincerity of purpose and their patriotic fervour, have left a mark in the spheres which they chose to espouse.

Having spent some of the best and most impressionable years of my life in this institution, I am today full of reminiscences and I can close this only with a grateful acknowledgment that whatever little service it has been my good fortune to render to our people and our country, it has been the result of what I learnt and studied, imbibed and assimilated here not only from books but also from the lives of all those with whom I came into contact, including not only the masters and professors, but also my classmates and contemporaries, a great many of whom I am happy to be able to meet and greet today on this joyous occasion.

DAKSHINA BHARAT HINDI PRACHAR SABHA, MADRAS

Convocation Address

18 August, 1956

I feel very happy to find myself in your midst once again today. I have been connected with the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, in one capacity or another, since its very inception. I have seen this organisation grow and progress and have always wished it well. It is indeed gratifying that this Sabha has always been carrying out its functions properly and going higher and higher. It has carried the message of Hindi to the remotest corners of all the southern States where Hindi is not spoken. I express on this occasion my appreciation of the work of the Sabha's organisers and workers and assure them that they would always get from me whatever help and service they might ask me to render.

Mahatma Gandhi was gifted with extraordinary farsightedness. He was able to comprehend popular trends by studying a few stray events like an expert in the random sampling method. Having understood the trends, he did all that was possible to meet the situation. When the whole country raised the cry of Satyagraha in 1922 and when full preparations had been made for it in Bardoli so much so that even a date had been fixed to launch it and when Gandhiji had also written to the Viceroy to that effect, he concluded from a mishap which had just then occurred in a village in Uttar Pradesh, that the country was not yet prepared for Satyagraha or at any rate was not ready to tread the path of non-violence which the Mahatma considered essential for its success. In spite of all the commitments and the popular expectations, Gandhiji did not hesitate to postpone Satyagraha. One comes across several similar instances in Gandhiji's life when in the light of apparently minor incidents he arrived at major conclusions. We also found that his conclusions subsequently came out to be correct.

When he was in South Africa, he had an opportunity of coming in contact with Indians coming from all parts of India, professing different faiths and speaking different languages, and to propagate the ideal of Satyagraha amongst them. From his South African experience he realised the need of a common language in India and he felt that only Hindi could be such a language. He arrived at

this conclusion as a result of his contacts with members of the Indian community. When on his return to India he toured the whole country, this conclusion was confirmed. That is why he started the work of Hindi *prachar* in the South even when he was still in Champaran. It was this idea which later on materialised in the shape of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha.

When the language question came up in the Constituent Assembly, it was decided unanimously, after taking all aspects of the problem into consideration, that Hindi should be accepted as the official language of the Union. But in so deciding, the Constitution did not neglect the regional languages all of which have their own literature, their own vocabularies and their own styles. At no stage was it the intention of the Constituent Assembly or anybody else that Hindi should take the place of any regional languages. Such languages have been given their due place in the Constitution. All the administrative, legislative, legal, educational and other work in the States will be carried on through them. It is in this sense that the various States look upon their respective regional tongues as their State language. I was very glad to learn that the Madras Government were also contemplating of declaring Tamil as State language in this State. Let me hope that as in some other States regional languages have been gradually taking the place of English, here also Tamil will in course of time replace English.

The fact is that there is not, and can never be, any rivalry between Hindi and the regional languages in the administrative or educational or any other sphere in the States. The only language which is the rival of the local languages is English, which, in course of time, will have to be replaced by regional language. It is only in matters of all-India importance that our Constitution desires English to be replaced by Hindi. Even so, it has been decided in the Constitution that due care should be taken to see that the people of non-Hindi-speaking regions are not put to any disadvantage because of this decision and that the switch-over to Hindi is slow and gradual. A period of 15 years has been stipulated for this purpose, out of which 9 years still remain with us. Let me repeat it to-day, although I have said it many times before, that it is not the intention of anyone to weaken, much less to replace, any regional language and that there are no grounds for any misgivings on that score. On the other hand, our Constitution provides for taking positive steps for the growth and development of regional languages so that they become fit vehicles for all shades of expression. For

making sure that no region or regions were treated unfairly and that every regional language was given due encouragement, and at the same time to see that Hindi was progressing along right lines, the appointment of a Language Commission, after a lapse of five years, has been provided for in our Constitution. This Commission was appointed last year. It has prepared its Report on which Government have to take a decision in terms of constitutional requirements. After the decision of the Government has been made known, I feel sure, this work will make greater headway and whatever doubts or misgivings are still left over will disappear altogether. Suffice it for me to say here that every State is not only free to encourage its language or languages and to do all that is possible for its proper development, but is in a way under obligation to do so. I have not the least doubt in my mind that all our regional languages which have been mentioned in the Constitution will continue to grow richer and richer in their capacity of expression and in their literature. In the accomplishment of this task Hindi neither can nor will obstruct them in any way.

Hindi's competitor in the linguistic field is only English and even that to the extent of the purposes of the Union; the competitors of English are all the regional languages within their respective spheres. I believe if we view this problem in the light of these facts, there will be no difference of opinion left amongst us.

As for the English language, we do not stand for its boycott either. It is a great and well-developed language whose literature is undoubtedly of a very high order. It has become an international language. We can, therefore, neither boycott it nor ignore it. On the other hand, we must continue to cultivate it so that we remain in touch with modern trends and thoughts and are able to take part in international affairs and other international activities to our advantage. In many countries of the world the educated people, besides learning their own language, also cultivate other languages. In our country it will be necessary for our people to learn Hindi, besides the regional languages, for inter-State and all-India contacts. Study of Hindi should, therefore, be provided in the schools of all the States in some form and at some stage, in addition to the regional languages. In case of Hindi-speaking provinces, where Hindi is taught as mother-tongue, provision should be made for the study of regional languages, and in my opinion of one of the South Indian languages, in addition to Hindi. This will greatly widen the scope of mutual contact and exchange of views and, at the same time,

strengthen the bonds of our national unity. Besides, I would also like as many people as possible to cultivate English for which proper provision should be made. It is one thing to use English as the medium of instruction and quite another to cultivate it as an independent language. In my opinion, English should be taught in a way to enable the people to acquire its working knowledge. Some people may, of course, go in for an advanced study of this language and its literature, and for this too provision should be made in our universities.

Thus, as far as I can see and understand this question, our students should be encouraged to learn three languages, one regional language, Hindi and English, without any undue strain on them. The strain to which students are subjected these days on account of having to study through a foreign medium, will be reduced with the mother-tongue becoming the medium and along with it, the study of Hindi can be introduced in non-Hindi speaking States according to their needs and the capacity of their students. English may be taught just as a language of business.

I hope that the whole country will benefit from the experience of this Sabha. The success with which you have propagated Hindi in these non-Hindi-speaking States, engenders the hope that the task of replacement of English to the extent contemplated will be accomplished within the time-limit provided in the Constitution.

I know that the Government of India is proceeding in this matter according to a well-considered plan and that Hindi will be given its proper status betimes and all such shortcomings as there may be in Hindi in the matter of vocabulary and expression will have been removed and Hindi will be able to answer the requirements of a language to be used for all-India purposes, as provided in our Constitution. It may be that there are similar shortcomings in regional languages also. I would like that, as far as possible, technical terms in all these languages should be common. This should be possible because in any case new words wherever coined are derived from Sanskrit. I would like people of the non-Hindi-speaking regions to take such interest in the development of Hindi that they are able to influence its growth and may be said to have lent a hand in its development. In my opinion, it should not be difficult because such give-and-take in the sphere of language is a matter of common occurrence. Even in times when means of communication and contact between the North and the South and the East and the West were not as well developed as they are to-day such a thing was

possible. In those days trade and pilgrimage provided the principal occasions for such contacts. There seems to be no reason why with the availability of quick and easy means of communications in modern times, this process of give-and-take should not be accelerated. Why should we not be able to say today that there are Hindi poets among Tamil and Telugu-speaking people also, because even today the Hindi poetry of at least two Telugu speaking poets who lived more than two hundred years ago is popular in Northern India. I am eagerly looking forward to that day when a man from Bihar will be able to versify in Tamil and a man from Tamil Nad will be able to compose poetry in Punjabi. May that day draw near and may the efforts of all of you be crowned with success, is my prayer.

NATURE AND SCOPE OF NON-VIOLENCE*

With your permission I should like to speak sitting. Please do not regard it as want of courtesy on my part, but attribute it as a concession to the weakness of my flesh.

Yesterday, when for the first time I had the opportunity of meeting the illustrious members of this Seminar, I put myself a question jokingly as to what they would expect me to say today. Yet, behind that joke there was a certain seriousness, because I felt some difficulty as to what I should say. You have had the advantage of discussing in detail and coming in contact with some of those who were life-long co-workers of Gandhiji. You have listened to what they have had to say about his life, about his work, about his principles, about his technique, and I fear that without knowing what they have said, I might innocently and unknowingly be striking a jarring note here and there, or simply repeating what you have already heard. But I felt that Gandhiji, his teaching, his philosophy, his life, all have many facets and we who have had the privilege of coming in contact with him, have not always been able to take a comprehensive view of his entire teaching and have occasionally kept ourselves immersed in particular aspects with which we were individually concerned.

Gandhiji had the knack of selecting people for different kinds of work, and he gave to each what his genius was fitted for, what his training, his upkeep, his capacity was suited for.

Therefore, while accepting the general background and the principles underlying his entire teaching, we have occasionally made ourselves narrow in our outlook by emphasising one aspect and ignoring some other aspects. In saying this I do not want to blame anyone, because we are sometimes too much attached to particular aspects of things. I have some advantage over others in this particular matter because I can speak with an open mind and place

* Address to the UNESCO Seminar on Gandhian Technique held in New Delhi, 17 January, 1953.

before you a comprehensive picture of what Gandhiji stood for and preached in his life.

You will understand the significance of what I am saying when you remember that Gandhiji established a number of institutions, each dealing with one particular aspect of his teaching. We had the Spinners' Association, the Village Industries Association, the Talimi Sangh, the Go Seva Sangh, and last, but not least, the Indian National Congress which, though it had been in existence for many years before he came on the scene, he reorganized, galvanised, vitalised and expanded it beyond all recognition. Now these various institutions—I have not named all—devoted themselves to particular aspects. Gandhiji in his own person co-ordinated their work and served as the connecting link between them.

Gandhiji was not a philosopher or thinker in the sense that he sat in his study, thought out a philosophy of life, and chalked out a programme of action which he left to others to study and implement. He had some fundamental principles to which he stuck all his life; but with regard to the rest, he took up each problem as and when it arose and found out a solution in his own characteristic way. There was no department of life in India which he did not touch, which he did not influence, or to which he did not make his own contribution. In that way he evolved a complete picture of society, arising not from a study or abstract thought, but born out of practical experience of life.

I had another difficulty in coming here. That was more or less a personal difficulty and yet it was not entirely personal.

Gandhiji's name is associated with non-violence, with cessation of war, and I felt a kind of incongruity in my addressing this conference. I am supposed to be the Head of a State which has not renounced war, which has not abjured violence, which still maintains her army; not only that, a State which has not accepted and implemented Gandhiji's economic programme also. What right had I, as Head of that State, to address you gentlemen coming from distant countries to know what Gandhiji did and wanted to do? But I felt again that while you could draw inspiration from what Gandhiji had achieved, you could draw guidance from what he attempted to achieve but did not achieve and left his work and his experiment incomplete. You could also draw some lesson from our success and perhaps even more from our failures. And I felt, if I could not do anything else, I could draw your attention to this side and you might perhaps make some use of that.

Gandhiji believed that non-violence could not be established and violence abjured till the causes which led to violence and made non-violence difficult of application, were removed. We know that all conflicts in this world arise because of conflicting desires of individuals and these desires relate to something material, something external, something which the other man also wants, but which cannot be made available to or shared by both.

Paradoxical as it may seem, Gandhiji made removal of the poverty of our people as one of the fundamental planks in his active programme, but at the same time, as far as I can judge, he was never enamoured of an undefined, indefinite, unlimited rise in the standard of our living as dependent upon external things. While he wanted that we should have our essentials of life, he also felt that no one was entitled to have more than the essentials. These essentials were not to be determined by the individual himself, but by other considerations.

One of these considerations was that what is essential for one person must be essential for others also. Therefore, so long as a thing is not available in such quantity as can be shared by all, it cannot be regarded as essential for anyone. In other words, Gandhiji insisted on a limitation of our physical and material needs. Again, he felt that a society which is based primarily on a desire to extend and expand one's needs, violence cannot be avoided. He, therefore, wanted a society in which the principal factor would not be the multiplication of wants or the means for supplying these wants in the quickest manner possible, but a society which would ensure to all what is absolutely necessary and at the same time not create conditions which cannot but end in competition and, ultimately, in violence.

Whenever we think of conflict, we have to consider the various aspects which create conflict. I have mentioned one. There are various other things which create conflict. We have got differences of opinion, may be with regard to religion, may be in our ideas of society, may be about individual's rights and duties. Gandhiji wanted to remove from society the causes which led to these conflicts. He wanted to limit our physical and material requirements to remove one such cause. For the rest, he wanted each one to recognise the right of others to have similar rights and to fulfil one's own duties to others. This could be done only by non-violence.

In a society if some people want to force their own opinions upon others, be they religious opinions, or opinions relating to politics or any other department of human life and thought, they cannot avoid conflict. There must be violence. It is only when complete freedom is assumed to everybody to have one's own opinion that conflict can be avoided. These are some aspects of the society he envisaged for himself and for us in this country.

As I said, Gandhiji did not start with a clear-cut programme. He took up individual questions as they arose from time to time. The biggest problem facing this country was the attainment of freedom. He, therefore, concentrated his energies on this question. For attaining freedom, he insisted upon non-violent means. He was opposed to violence not only in action but also in thought and speech. But while he imposed these strict standards on himself he co-operated with others who were not prepared to go so far, but who were prepared to observe non-violence in action while engaged in the freedom struggle.

Thus it was that he was able to gather round him a large number of people who would not have otherwise gone to him had he insisted upon non-violence in thought and word also. I know of very few people who were able to exclude violence from thought, and, there were not a few who betrayed violence in words. But those who actually betrayed violence in action were few, and that is how he succeeded. He was fortunate in that the soil of this country was specially suited to his experiment. We have our own old traditions of non-violence. Friends from Europe will excuse me if I mention one fact. I have not travelled much and cannot claim to have seen much of any other country. But I paid a short visit to Europe and going through the streets I was struck by one fact that wherever I went I saw memorials to warriors, memorials to wars and victories. We don't see that kind of thing in this country. And we have the proud tradition that in our long history there has not been one instance when India sent out her invading army to another country. We have sent out conquerors of a very different type, conquerors in the realm of culture, in the realm of knowledge, in the realm of religion, and if we look at history we shall find that our conquests have been more lasting and fruitful. We still have silken bonds of friendship with countries with which we established our cultural relations in ages gone by.

There was another thing which gave us an advantage, although it was of very dubious value. We were disarmed; we were unable to fight with arms, and not a few of us saw in Gandhiji's method a way out of our difficult position. It was a doubtful advantage, because it weakened our faith in non-violence. Anyhow, we carried on and we succeeded to some extent.

The question that you have now to tackle and which I understand, you have been tackling, is the question whether the same method can be applied in dealing with tensions among nations and within nations. Gandhiji thought that it could be applied and that it should be applied; not that he was not conscious of weaknesses of human beings, not that he was foolhardy and would take risks. We have several instances in our own country when he called off a movement which was supposed to have reached its height, as soon as he noticed some weakness in it. And it was not until the last World War had made some progress that he gathered courage to place before the world this weapon of non-violence. There were occasions when he was invited by other countries to carry his message to them, but his reply used to be, 'Let me make good what I claim in my own country, and then there will be time enough for me to go elsewhere. Otherwise, unless I am able to make good my claim in my own country, what right have I to expect that other people will listen to me?'

During the last World War, a very difficult situation arose. There was a great deal of misunderstanding of Gandhiji's attitude to war. Our rulers misunderstood him. That is understandable, and in my view, even excusable, because they knew no other method and they felt that in a war which was a sort of life and death struggle for them, anyone who was not with them was against them. Since Gandhiji did not like to be with them in the war, they treated him as one against them. But the misunderstanding was not only on the part of the Government; we who claimed to be near him also misunderstood him.

Just when the Second World War started, and he saw Lord Linlithgow, he broke down in the course of the interview as he visualised to himself the ruin and devastation that the war would bring to London, which he knew so well. And yet he did not have the least hesitation in declaring that India should not and could not participate in the war or help the war effort. There is a seeming contradiction in this position, but really there is none. He had sympathy for England, just as he would have sympathy for any other



Inaugurating the International Children's Art Exhibition at New Delhi



At the Malayalam Art Festival at New Delhi



Distributing prizes to the winners in the music competition of All India Radio at Broadcasting House, New Delhi



Addressing the inmates of the Kalakshetra, Adyar



Delivering the convocation address at Vishwa-Bharati



Addressing the staff and students of the Annamalai University



At the Mahatma Gandhi Centre at Harijan Colony, New Delhi

people in trouble, but at the same time, he was firm in his conviction that war would not solve the problem, it would not lead the world anywhere. Therefore, while sympathising with England, he was not prepared to yield in the matter of his conviction.

Gandhiji's attitude to Second World War was in contrast with his attitude to the first World War, when he had actually supported the Government and gone out of his way to help in the recruitment of soldiers in this country. Many friends belonging to the pacifist school were unable to understand that position. Gandhiji's view then was that the British Empire was, on the whole, for the good of the world. At any rate, India was deriving certain benefits from it. He also believed that it was capable of being converted, of being induced to change its own viewpoint and accept that of its opponent. He had experience of that in South Africa. He had some experience of that in his very first large-scale movement which he led in Champaran in 1917. He had not yet lost faith in that Empire and therefore he felt that if he was prepared to enjoy security under its aegis, it was his duty to help it in its time of need.

That position had completely changed in 1940. He had lost that faith and he had engaged the whole country in a serious struggle against the Empire—not against the British people, but against British rule.

And therefore, in 1940, he was in a position to say, "we do not want your protection. We do not care whether you defend us or not; leave us, leave us to chaos or to God." And having reached that stage, he was in a position to say, "no more help of any kind in this war". We of the Congress parted company. Some felt that it was a good opportunity for bargaining, getting what we wanted on condition of help. Others took a more altruistic view and said it was necessary to help the Allies because their cause was just. None of these things moved Gandhiji because he felt that we would neither be serving the cause of non-violence nor even the cause of those who were engaged in the war. He therefore stood up against any kind of assistance in the war effort.

It was, if I may say so, the folly of the British Government not to have accepted the help which was offered to it by the Congress. The refusal created a situation in which though the Congress and Gandhiji parted company temporarily, they were again brought together after the failure of the Congress to get what it wanted from the British Government. It then felt there was no alternative before it but to refuse its help in the war effort.

I said, perhaps, you might take some lesson from our failures. It is this aspect of our struggle to which I would like to draw your particular attention. We failed at that moment and we adopted a course which was not liked by him, which was really the course of expediency but not of principle, not of truth, not of non-violence, and no wonder that thereafter we have not been able to catch up with Gandhiji's ideals and Gandhiji's programme. Having slipped there, we have not been able to feel that we can do away with violence and need have no resort to violence in any circumstances. It was at this stage that Gandhiji wrote his letter to Herr Hitler. He published his appeal to the Czechs to resist non-violently, and addressed his letter to every Briton not to indulge in war but to achieve what they wanted by non-violence.

Unfortunately, and to our shame, to our indelible shame, Gandhiji was taken away from us just at the time when he would have been in a position to make this bigger experiment. We have instances in history of individuals who experimented with non-violence in their own lives and also taught others to experiment with it on a personal plane. It was, however, left to Gandhiji to make use of this weapon on a large-scale to settle differences between groups and between nations.

As I said, he found suitable ground for this experiment in this country. He also found noble adversaries who were capable of yielding to the appeal which non-violence makes. The British had set a limit to their own action below which they could not and did not go and we must admit that while Gandhiji's success was very largely due to himself and his people, the British also played a noble part in it. I do not know what would have happened if we had got an adversary of another kind altogether, one who would not have put any restraints on his atrocities. Whether we would have been able to stand such a strain or whether even such an adversary would have been won over and conquered by non-violence, is a matter of speculation.

There the experiment of non-violence remained incomplete. It is for you all now to extend that experiment to other spheres and to find out how far you can succeed in the present age and in present conditions. I know there are innumerable difficulties, but the people ought to be educated. Gandhiji did not, therefore, neglect education. But the education that he envisaged and programmed was of a somewhat different kind from the education that we hear of in other countries. His programme of education was a programme of real unfoldment of personality, of bringing out something

that was within the child by removing all outward inhibitions and external obstacles. His scheme of education did not contemplate levelling down of everybody to one dead level, as we see on our roads where the big and the small pieces of stone are all rolled down by a big steam-roller. It was a scheme in which every child would have full freedom to go its own way, and because there will be no violence, not only would every child grow in non-violence, he would also be able to understand and appreciate it.

I am, therefore, glad that the Seminar has given so much attention to the question of education but I would like you to consider also, not now in this Seminar, but in your own respective spheres and whenever you meet again—whether it is not desirable to bring in Gandhiji's idea of society in which needs would be limited. Without that, I feel, exploitation cannot be ended. If exploitation cannot be ended, it means violence cannot be ended.

I heard with great attention and respect the report which Lord Boyd-Orr made. There was one sentence which rather struck me in a peculiar way. You have decided that you permit maintenance of armies for defensive purposes. I do not know of any war which an aggressive party regards as an offensive war. Every war in world history has been a defensive war, and so long as you keep this room, this loophole open for defensive war, non-violence in its fullness will not be established. Someone has to dare and take courage in both hands. Gandhiji took courage so far as our own country was concerned when he said, 'Leave us to chaos and to God, but please do not involve us in this war and do not expect us to give help in the war'.

I do not know what he would have said and what we would have done if he were alive today to guide us and to give us his inspiration. But I do feel that he made the position perfectly clear when he made an appeal to the fighting parties during the last war to desist from war in his various writings. It will be wrong to imagine that he at any moment contemplated submission to wrong. That was against his whole nature, his whole being. What he objected to was submission to the lower instinct of our own nature, that is to say, submission to the sense of hatred, submission to a sense of retaliation, submission to a kind of cowardice, which cannot protect the individual or the nation without striking somebody else. He wanted that kind of courage which would stand the worst that the enemy could do, without even feeling resentment against him. He would resist him to the last, and he would

successfully resist him because the last step would be the loss of his own life. This would mean his victory and defeat of his opponent, because the latter could not get him to submit to his wishes. Unless some nation today takes such moral courage in its own hands and comes out with a clear-cut programme of no-war under any circumstances, defensive or offensive, and no armament of any kind, the battle for non-violence will continue and is not likely to end in victory.

Some nation has to take that courage ; I do not know who will. Evidently, today we are unable to do it although we claim to be the inheritors of Gandhiji's teaching, but somebody has to do it, and, let me hope, that as a result of the deliberations that you have had, you would be able to carry this message to other countries. There is a saying in our country that sometimes there is no light directly under the lamp, although there may be light all round. I hope we shall not prove the truth of that statement, but let me hope that you will prove its truth by taking the light.

I am sure this Seminar would have done a great deal if it laid before the world this aspect of his teaching which, I consider, is a practical proposition, a proposition which can be implemented if only we have the courage to do so.

I thank you all for the patience with which you have listened to me, and I am grateful for the opportunity that I have had of coming in contact with such illustrious persons and of listening to them, albeit for a short time. I wish all success to your noble endeavours.

KHADI AND GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS*

The work of propagating the use of Khadi has been engaging the attention of many of us for the last thirty or thirty-five years. There are many people here who have given a great deal of time and thought to this question. There is the difficulty of competition

* Speech made at the informal Conference of Central Ministers and senior officials at New Delhi, 29 August, 1953.

with mill-made cloth and there is also the further difficulty that we cannot get khadi in as large quantities as we require.

The economics of khadi are based on certain fundamental facts of life in this country. We know that India is an agricultural country and something like 70 to 80 per cent of our population lives on agriculture in some form or another. If you consider the life of an agriculturist, you will find that however large or however small his holding may be, he and his family members cannot get full employment throughout the year and he cannot also leave his home and go elsewhere in search of employment because agriculture requires intermittent attention. If the hours and the days which are thus wasted by the agriculturist and the other members of his family could be utilised, we will have more than enough of khadi to clothe the whole country.

I do not think anybody would object to the low wages because they are earned at a time when the worker has no other work and cannot earn at all. The agriculturist can earn something and that something is not so very insignificant after all, because he need not purchase a single yard of cloth if he gives time to it. I can tell you from my personal experience that one hour of spinning a day yields sufficient yarn to give us as much cloth as we in India are using on an average, that is to say, 15 to 20 yards per head. I think if you take that aspect of khadi into consideration, the question of cheapness or dearness would not arise at all, because it is the result of the people's labour when they are idle. That is the fundamental aspect of khadi, but we know that all the people are not always inclined to work. We are often inclined not to work. But with all these difficulties, I think, it is possible to propagate khadi as it was done in the past when Gandhiji started the movement and when we were not in the Government and did not expect any help from the Government. In spite of all that there was a class in the country which continued to use it. That class is still in existence. What we want now is that the other classes which were not in favour of khadi should also take it up and give it encouragement. I am glad the Finance Minister has agreed to give a subsidy to it.

A question has been raised about the expensiveness of saris for ladies. I think the question should not arise at all. I do not know whether our women are so fully engaged the whole day that they cannot spare one hour a day. If they can use their spare time in

spinning they will be able to get a sari practically without any expense, except for the price of cotton. I think that will be cheaper than any other sari they can get elsewhere. If they start wearing khadi woven from yarn spun by their own hands they will not fail to appreciate it. By practice their skill will improve and their nimble fingers will produce khadi of a superior quality.

Those of us who have actually known the production of khadi know what tremendous relief it gives to the class of people who have no other source of income. I remember the days when I myself used to go to khadi centres where yarn was purchased and where poor women clothed in rags would come from miles to sell small bundles of yarn. If their yarn was not purchased for one reason or the other, one could see clearly despair and despondency on their faces. One could not help feeling that was really of great service to the poorest class of people. I think things have not changed even today to such an extent as to obviate the necessity for this kind of relief.

I, therefore, suggest that when we think of khadi we should not think of the mill-owner or the mill-worker but of the poor woman in the village.

We have been very much concerned with the problem of unemployment and very rightly too. When we take this problem into consideration you will realise the degree of employment provided by khadi. If I am not wrong a single man in a mill looking after spindles throws out of employment 200 men. One man looks after as many looms as would produce cloth equal to the output of ten to twelve weavers on handloom in a day. From that you can judge what a tremendous amount of unemployment a mill creates in a single day.

I am not here to plead that there should be no industrialisation in the country. That is a big question and that has to be dealt with on its own merits; but I am placing before you a fact which cannot be denied and the effect of which is being felt in the everyday life of the poor in this country. It is, therefore, necessary that when we think of khadi we should think of unemployment or under-employment of a large number of people who cannot get any other employment. If we look at it from that point of view, you will agree that any subsidy that can be given to it will not be wasted. If you do not give any subsidy, you will have to find some means of

subsistence for these men and women. It is much better to support them with this subsidy.

It is our experience that when calamities like earthquakes and big floods occur, the opening of khadi centres in affected areas brings a lot of relief to the people. In fact, in connection with the recent floods in Bihar, I have received telegrams from khadi workers there, asking for the utilisation of funds place at their disposal for opening khadi centres.

The purchase of khadi is not altogether an act of charity. It will give employment to millions. By buying khadi we shall not be wasting money but investing it in artistic things. We have been spending crores by way of subsidies for the sugar and steel industries over the years. We never objected to it, because they needed them. I wish some kind of subsidy were given to khadi also, because it deserves it more than any other organised industry.

I wish to make one or two suggestions. Many of you here are Heads of Departments. I do not suggest to the Army to use khadi for uniforms. I will not even suggest to the Police to use khadi uniforms. For one thing, we may not have enough khadi today for that purpose. But I do not see any reason why in Rashtrapati Bhavan and all other Government Departments, khadi should not be used, why spats, napkins, towels, curtains, dusters and so many other things which we use every day in offices, hospitals, etc., should not be of khadi. I, therefore, suggest that the Government issue instructions that all the Departments, excepting those of the Police and Army, should make all these purchases from khadi *bhandars*. If that is done, there will be a great fillip to the khadi movement, not only because a great deal of khadi will have been purchased by the Government, but also because it will have a great effect on the people. If this is done, the promotion, sale and disposal of khadi, which sometimes become a problem, will have been solved. And I can say if you can ensure the sale of khadi there will be no shortage in its production and supply. What is, therefore, needed is a stimulus to the use of khadi, not by force or coercion, but by willing co-operation and by appreciating the fundamental facts about the economics of khadi.

I wish you gave thought to it not only from the economic point of view but also as a matter of national necessity which will help the poorest and also provide employment to a large number of people in the country.

THE HARIJANS*

I consider it a privilege to be called upon to open the Mahatma Gandhi Community Centre in your Colony. This Centre is being started with the help of the monetary grant given by the Ford Foundation of America. I am sure the people of this Colony can consider themselves lucky, not only because the first Community Centre is being opened here but also because the Father of the Nation has lived here for many a week. This place has been sanctified by his sermons, which, delivered after the prayer meetings held in this Colony before and after India's independence, still echo in our ears. You can rightly feel proud of the fact that the words which stirred the people not only of this country but of many foreign lands were uttered at this place.

Among the few things which were closest to Gandhiji's heart was the uplift of those called Harijans. He had espoused the cause of the backward people, particularly the Harijans, even before he came into the political arena. Temperamentally he was not an arm-chair idealist; he was far more keen about practice than about theory. Therefore, the moment he took a decision, he began to translate his resolve into action. He was always happy to see and talk to Harijans and as far as possible he loved to stay in their midst.

Our country has given to the world quite a few lofty reformers like Gautama Buddha, who considered the service of humanity and relieving the distressed as the great mission of their lives. India can legitimately raise its head even today and say that Mahatma Gandhi was also one of that distinguished line of succession.

This Centre is being opened after the name of that noble soul. Not only this small Colony where the Centre will be housed, but the whole country will draw upon this Institution for inspiration. It is the duty of those who live in this Colony that, imbibing the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, they learn to live neatly, go in for education and do not allow any inferiority complex to dominate them. The Constitution which our country has adopted lays down

* Speech made while inaugurating the Mahatma Gandhi Community Centre at the Harijan Colony, New Delhi, 5 April, 1954.

in clear words that here there will be perfect equality between man and man, every one would get equal opportunity of progress and development and that there would be no distinction of high and low among our countrymen. As merely to say so will not take us anywhere, our Constitution provides that till the time the various groups and classes have come up to a uniform level, special privileges and facilities will be offered to the backward people to make up the leeway. I have an unswerving faith that the silvery rays of the sun, which has arisen on the Indian horizon after centuries of slavery, will brighten up every nook and corner of this land and that every citizen, irrespective of any distinction of colour, caste or creed, will feel the life-giving warmth of these rays.

The facilities which will be available to you in this Centre will give you an opportunity of all-round progress in life. There is a provision for education and recreation for children, medical care of the sick and also arrangements for social gatherings and pastimes for the grown-ups. Besides, you will be able to learn some trade or cottage industry. It is now for you to turn this opportunity to your advantage. You have before you a chance of making your lives happy and of training yourselves to be good citizens.

As I said earlier this is the first Centre of its kind opened in this country. It is hoped that many more Centres like this will be eventually opened in other places. But you should not forget that your Centre will be looked upon as something in the nature of an experiment whose success or otherwise will affect the whole scheme of starting such centres. A heavy responsibility, therefore, devolves upon you. You have to make it a success so that all of you profit by it and the authorities also get sufficient encouragement to pursue this scheme. I am confident that you will not only appreciate this responsibility but will be able to carry it out fully.

Before declaring this Centre open, I would like to congratulate you all. Let me hope that you will be guided and inspired by Bapu's immortal message, which you have heard several times, and that you will go ahead on the road to progress, making the task of Harijan uplift and social reform easier. In this noble work you have my best wishes with you.

TRUE HAPPINESS*

I am glad to have come here today at the invitation of the Chairman of the Delhi Municipal Committee for unveiling the statue of Mahatma Gandhi. I am thankful to him for giving me this opportunity to participate in today's celebrations so that we may give some thought to Gandhiji's teachings. It was 85 years ago that the Mahatma was born. He rendered such great service not only to the people of India but to those of the world that even if we are unable today to understand and appreciate him fully, a time is bound to come when the world will do so.

I had no hesitation in accepting this invitation to unveil Gandhiji's statue, but on second thought I wondered if it was at all necessary to have a memorial of this kind. I was at once reminded of the thousands of historical monuments scattered all over Delhi. Once upon a time these monuments were beautiful buildings, the very embodiment of royal grandeur. Some of the places which must have once been the abodes of kings and nobles and citadels of power, have been reduced to ruins with the passage of time. I could not help thinking of these monuments or what remains of them. Seeing these places, the inescapable thought that it is futile to erect such monuments in memory of man occurs to one's mind. Not only in this country but everywhere else in the world wherever people raised monuments in memory of the great, all such structures are today in ruins, entrusted to the care of Archaeological Departments. Except for the archaeologists, few even know in whose memory they were erected. If people occasionally visit these places, it is not because of the men in whose memory they were raised, but because of the importance of the monuments themselves. All these monuments are, therefore, in fact, no more than memorials to certain historical events, good or ominous.

We also know that there have been great souls whose names are on the lips of millions of people but in whose memory monuments of brick and mortar were never raised. Millions pay homage to the memory of such men by following the path enjoined in their teachings. Perhaps in later years, their followers too raised structural monuments in their memory, but certainly they live today in people's minds not because of these monuments but because of the

* Speech made while unveiling Mahatma Gandhiji's statue at Delhi, 11 October, 1954.

life-giving message they left behind. It is this class of men to which Mahatma Gandhi belongs. Therefore, I think it is not necessary to build such monuments in his memory. He will be remembered best for his teachings, his simple living and high thinking and his life of purity.

There are millions of people in our country today who have seen Mahatma Gandhi and often heard him. There are many who came in contact with him and have thereby raised themselves high. There are also some who understood him fully and who have tried to act up to his teachings in actual life. Gandhiji's programme of work was so comprehensive that everyone could get something of interest from his life. He never sat down to compile the tenets of his faith in the form of a treatise. He was free and original thinker and formulated his own principles to grapple with the various problems as they came his way. There is no aspect or problem of life, particularly life in India, to which he did not apply his principles and which he did not try to resolve in their light. Therefore, if we view his life, we shall find that there is nothing concerning the individual and social life which he has left untouched. This is not the occasion to dilate upon that; nor have I sufficient time to do so. I also feel that I may not be competent to deal with it. I would like to say a word or two about some of his basic principles today.

There has been, in recent years, a tremendous increase in scientific knowledge of the forces of nature and the way to control them and utilise them according to the will of man, so much so, that the prosperity of nations varies in proportion to the degree of their mastery of this knowledge. The United States of America is looked upon as a rich and prosperous country. I have heard of an interesting proof of their prosperity. The U.S.A. with a population of about 17 crores has over 4.5 crores of motor cars, which means that if we take four people in a family unit, every family there has more than one car. I am told ordinary workers and labourers in America go to their respective factories and return home after work in their own cars. At the other end of the scale are many backward countries whose people do not get even two square meals a day and who are devoid of all amenities which are considered the source of happiness and prosperity today.

It seems to have been taken for granted that by acquiring certain material resources we can raise the standard of living of human beings. Following this principle, all the countries of the world are

set upon acquiring and multiplying their resources. It is no doubt right that a hungry man cannot think of praying. Mahatma Gandhi himself once said that the hungry man sees God only in the form of bread. But even then we should think how far this kind of material prosperity can lead to real happiness. I have also heard that the countries which are known to be prosperous and resourceful are not blessed with mental peace, whereas, on the other hand, we find lots of poor people, who excite our pity, leading a happy and contented existence. The truth is that the source of real happiness is in one's own inner self and not in the outside world. We equate happiness with the world of external things and that is why there is a scramble for acquisition and accumulation of things. The fact is that these things are, at best, no more than means to achieve happiness and not happiness itself. One can experience happiness even without them. Apart from this, it is worthwhile considering what is real happiness.

I think real happiness or peace of mind means the complete freedom from extraneous pressure or restraint or inhibitions. One basic fact which must be recognised is that any kind of inhibition or restraint is irksome. It ceases to be irksome only when it becomes something voluntarily accepted or adopted without restraint or coercion. It is this voluntary adoption of any line of thought or action without restraint or coercion from outside which brings real happiness. Any subtraction from complete freedom is loss of freedom to that extent and implies dependence on something else. Man as a member of society or even as an individual has long ceased to be fully free, if he ever was or can be free. All that can be aimed at or achieved is the reduction or minimization of this restraint or coercion and increasing to the maximum the freedom which man enjoys. His material requirements can be satisfied, it is obvious, only by subjecting himself to some curtailment of this freedom. His mental satisfaction and possibly his spiritual aspiration become reduced in quantum and perhaps also in quality by the amount of material satisfaction which in the very nature of things implies restraint. What is generally termed progress has tended more and more to restrict man's freedom. In every department of life and activity man has to submit more and more to external restraints and inhibitions. It follows that there must be consequential and proportionate diminution in the mental satisfaction and spiritual endeavour even though man may not feel that restraint or realise the ever-growing restraint being put on him from day-to-day. It is thus

clear that real happiness lies in freedom from restraint, which, in turn, implies man's capacity to carry on with as little dependence on others as possible. We cannot escape from the conclusion that what is generally called high standard of living has served to increase our dependence on others and to that extent has removed us further from real happiness.

We see in the world of today that distance between country and country has almost been eliminated and nations living far apart from one another have come closer so that if something happens at one place it has its repercussions far and wide. It does not hold good with regard to only dreadful things like war but also of beneficent activities. One of the results of this progress has been that man is now dependent for his daily necessities of life on far off countries. An example will clarify the point. Many of us present here today have known the days when the railway system in India was not expanded to the present extent, when there were no cars or automobiles of any kind and when we had not even heard of the aeroplanes. At that time also food was as important as it is today. Then every community depended for its food on itself and on the land which it cultivated. True, if there was failure of a crop on account of natural calamities like floods or drought, the community suffered. But otherwise it managed to live on what it produced and learnt in course of time the wisdom and the prudence to save food for emergencies. On account of the improvement in the means of transport today foodgrains can be easily supplied from one part of the country to another. We saw recently that food had to be dropped by aeroplanes on areas which were rendered inaccessible by flood. All this sounds so nice, but we have to see whether these developments have enhanced or restricted our freedom. My feeling is that by increasing such needs as he cannot fulfil himself, man has necessarily restricted his freedom.

By giving the example of food imports, I have tried to show our dependence on other countries. That is not all. If far off Argentina, Canada or America has a bumper wheat crop, it results in the falling of wheat prices in India. Because of the improved means of transport, the availability or otherwise of things does not depend on local conditions but on the overall world conditions. If food cannot be imported from other countries because of some natural calamity or as a result of the outbreak of war, the needy country will have to suffer untold misery. We saw during the last

war how even people of neutral countries had to suffer because of the restrictions on export and import of certain articles from overseas. So, there are two aspects of this progress. One promises plenty during peace time, the other threatens to release a rich harvest of sufferings and privations in case communications are dislocated on account of hostilities.

It is necessary to remember that even if all of our requirements are satisfied, we are bartering our freedom for that satisfaction. For instance, whenever there is disease in an epidemic form in the country, we have to depend on other countries to supply us with medicines. Similarly, whenever there is a famine, others can save us from its dire consequences, but at the same time, if they like, they can also starve us by withholding the supply of foodgrains. If war breaks out today the belligerents need not resort to deadly weapons in order to kill others. They can do it equally effectively by disrupting the system of transport. Therefore, while on the one hand, we are endeavouring to raise the standard of living, those very efforts might result in the curtailing of our freedom and independence.

In spite of this all-round progress we have not yet reached a stage when we could produce an article in sufficient quantity so as to meet the requirements of all the peoples of the world. When we cannot say this about food, which tops the list of man's needs, it is no use talking about other things which are produced in still lesser quantities. That is why the standard of living of all the countries is not uniformly high and presents an unpleasant contrast. Those who possess more are anxious to extort more and more from those who do not possess much. The result is naturally conflict between man and man and country and country. The fear of this conflict has become a nightmare for the modern man.

While preaching truth and *Ahimsa*, Gandhiji also warned us against the dangerous temptation of acquisition and hoarding. He thought that hoarding was no better than theft. It is because of this tendency in man that conflicts arise. Although, to some extent, hoarding of things is not only unavoidable but also desirable, yet for the attainment of real happiness, it has to be avoided as far as possible. Mahatma Gandhi gave the first place to *Ahimsa* in his programme for getting the better of this tendency and for clearing the way to real happiness. In plain language, *Ahimsa* can be defined as the avoidance of coercion and undue pressure on others. We cannot possibly escape conflicts if we go on increasing our needs of hoardable things. These conflicts may be individual or collective. This can

result only in one thing, namely, putting pressure on others, and placing them in difficulty for fulfilling our wishes.

It is, therefore, necessary to realize that what we have assumed as axiomatic truth, namely, that increase in material prosperity also means the attainment of happiness, is neither quite correct nor so self-evident. This assumption is true only up to a certain limit, and the more we transgress this limit the more remote become our chances of being happy. This limit has to be fixed by man himself. This is undoubtedly beset with countless difficulties, but I do think that it is not altogether impossible for man to achieve happiness without the usual paraphernalia which passes for his everyday necessities. This is exactly what is meant by the adage, 'simple living and high thinking'. It was by practising this truth that Mahatma Gandhi could enjoy that happiness which an humble follower of his is unable to have even in the palatial Rashtrapati Bhavan.

I do not suggest that ambition or high aspirations or desire for progress should be discouraged. But let us be sure that our will to progress and rise high will materialise in the true sense only after we have realised that the source of our happiness does not lie outside us but is enshrined within our own hearts. Our happiness will vary directly in proportion to the degree of our faith in the above truth. The more we try to achieve happiness, basing it on the outside world, the more we shall be inviting conflicts and depriving others of their happiness.

On this solemn occasion, if we could realise the futility of this kind of memorials and the artificiality of what is generally regarded as happiness, I should think that we shall not have met in vain at this function today.

VILLAGE AND SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIES*

I am glad to have got this opportunity of saying a few words about khadi and village industries. I have always welcomed such

* Inaugural speech at a conference convened by the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board, Poona, 17 November, 1954.

occasions because I think cottage industries have an important role to play in the economic set-up of our country today. Perhaps it would have been unnecessary to lay emphasis on this point if there was not an impression prevailing among the people that cottage industries have no place in the present-day world in which industrialisation is looked upon as the hall-mark of material progress. I am afraid this impression is as groundless as it is misleading. It is evident that in a country like India where 80 per cent of the people live upon agriculture and allied callings, the only result of excessive industrialisation will be more production by fewer men, which instead of solving the problem of unemployment will render it more complicated. Its proof lies in the fact that although our country has advanced sufficiently on the road to industrialisation, the incidence of unemployment instead of coming down appears to have gone up.

In our country special significance is attached to handicrafts and such small-scale industries as can be easily managed at home during spare time. If we lose sight of this fact and imagine that we can solve the problem of unemployment through industrialisation, I am sure, we shall only have disappointment in store for us. Unless the problem of unemployment is tackled successfully, we cannot remove poverty, because whatever the quantity of wealth available in the country, it can be shared only among those who have some kind of work to do. The main victims of poverty are, after all, those who are jobless or who may be partially employed. Therefore, it is in the interest of the people of the rural areas and of our country's prosperity as a whole that the wrong impression referred to above is corrected and all efforts made to popularise and improve our cottage industries.

The most important step adopted in this direction in recent years is, as pointed out by Shri Vaikunthbhai Mehta, the establishment of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board by the Government of India. By doing so, Government has not only recognized the importance of village industries but also taken upon itself the responsibility of improving them. It has been accepted as a matter of policy that in our planning for social and economic betterment small-scale industries ought to be given a place. Government has also undertaken to provide the necessary means to achieve this end. I do not think it is necessary for me to say much about the first Five-Year Plan. All of you know that Government has laid down in most unambiguous words its policy with regard to village

industries in its Plan. As for the second Five-Year Plan, it has been decided that before finalising the draft of the section dealing with industries, representatives of the various small-scale industries should be consulted. The real problem is that of adjustment between the small-scale and the bigger industries. The aim of all industrial undertakings is to increase production and national wealth. We must see what place should be given to village industries and to bigger industrial undertakings in order to ensure India's maximum prosperity.

I admit that handicrafts and cottage industries can flourish only if certain concessions and facilities are offered to them. So far as facilities are concerned, the Government of India has accepted, in principle, to provide such concessions to these industries as are likely to help them without at the same time affecting adversely the bigger industries. I should, therefore, think that the real problem is that the question of reserving a field for khadi and handloom industries Khadi has received some impetus by whatever direct help has been given to it by Government. Consideration has also been given to the question of reserving a field for khadi and handloom industries, so that the element of competition between handloom and mill-made cloth is eliminated. I think we have to extend this concession by reserving the fields for other cottage industries as well, so that in those fields bigger industries are not allowed to operate.

Till such concessions are given to cottage industries and as long as heavy industries are permitted to compete with them, it is difficult, if not impossible, for cottage industries to grow. But at present it is the bigger industrial undertakings which are being afforded facilities like concessional railway freights, etc. These are having a deleterious effect on the growth of village industries. I am afraid this process has not only to be stopped, but in some cases at least, it has to be reversed. Let us understand it clearly that financial subsidies alone will not mean much for small-scale industries. I know that Government has been helping the bigger industries to the tune of crores of rupees, and to be able to do so it had to impose the burden of heavy taxation on the people. Take sugar, for example. To save sugar factories from the competition of foreign producers, Government has been subsidizing Indian sugar industry for a number of years at the cost of many crores. Similarly, steel industry in India has had to be subsidized heavily. I see no reason why Government should not extend similar help, on the same scale, to village industries, when millions of people benefit from them and

get employment because of them. It is no argument to suggest that it is useless to manufacture an article on a small scale when the same article can be manufactured and offered at a cheaper price by bigger industries. Our hesitation to offer certain articles at a slightly higher price would virtually mean growing unemployment for millions and consequently forcing them to starve. We have, therefore, to choose between unemployment and starvation on the one hand and a slightly higher cost of certain manufactured articles on the other. No wise man, I am sure, would prefer large-scale unemployment to paying slightly higher cost.

I would, therefore, suggest that we must act courageously and draw a list of those fields which have to be reserved for village industries and in which these industries have not to contend against either indigenous mill-made goods or foreign imports. This is the economics of village industries. This alone will suit our country, whatever may be the requirements of other countries. Let me hope that keeping in view the fact that village industries are the biggest source of employment, Government will do all that is possible to encourage them.

I am at one with Shri Vaikunthbhai that increase in production cannot be accepted as our sole ideal. Our real aim should be to make the people prosperous and to keep the maximum number of them employed. It is widely known that millions of our countrymen derive their sustenance from handicrafts and small-scale industries. To encourage these industries and to develop them is, therefore, one of our foremost duties. I admit that production can be increased more easily by installing heavy machinery, but if such increase in production is achieved at the cost of cottage industries, it will mean more harm than good to our people. This is now generally accepted as true, and the Government of India also appreciates this fact. We have, therefore, no reason to feel concerned on this score.

Now that we know that Government is pursuing a policy of encouraging village industries, let us address ourselves to the task of developing them from the economic and artistic points of view. I would, in this connection, advise you to study the growth of small-scale industries in other countries. In some of those countries, cottage industries have been improved and developed to such an extent that they are able to stand on their own feet in their own right. There may be certain industries in our country which can benefit from the supply of electricity. The day is not far off when

our countryside will be electrified. As the various river valley projects, which are under execution at present, are completed, there will be no dearth of power in India. With the help of electricity we can certainly save time and labour and also perhaps improve the quality of the manufactured goods. We have only to be careful that the use of electricity does not reduce the level of employment and in the sphere of production quantity does not take the place of quality. Art is one of the features of our handicrafts. Electricity should not be allowed to spoil it. With these precautions, we can certainly employ electricity for the improvement of cottage industries. Our aim should be to develop these industries to such an extent and to create such a wide demand for their products that these can flourish in course of time independently, so that they are able to dispense with the special concessions and facilities offered to them by Government. I hope you will agree with me that this should be the aim of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board.

I am very happy that all of you connected with the Khadi and Village Industries Board are working enthusiastically. Your annual report shows that the Board has made some headway in popularizing the products of village industries. You should draw inspiration from the fact that the work to which you are devoting yourself has its foundations in social justice, economic equality and self-sufficiency. The more you progress in this direction, the greater will be the employment you provide to the people, particularly in the countryside. Today when the problem of unemployment threatens to assume alarming proportions, nothing can be of greater advantage to the nation than an avenue which promises employment. This belief should be your sheet-anchor and you should be able to draw inspiration from Bapu's sacred memory. Although village industries have been a feature of Indian life since ages, the credit of raising them in the eyes of the people and getting for them a place in our national economy, goes to Mahatma Gandhi.

Nothing is farther from my mind than to suggest that sentiment can provide the basis for village industries to stand upon; but even so we need not be chary of accepting that many a good cause often benefits from sentiment and the enthusiasm it generates. In actual fact, however, we may be sure that the real basis of the development of village industries can be only economic.

I fervently hope that your efforts will bear fruit and that village industries will continue to progress in India.

THE GANDHIAN WAY*

It was a happy idea to start an institution named after Gandhiji for the purpose of cultural advancement. Mahatma Gandhi lived for nearly eighty years. During this long period there was hardly any aspect of life which he did not touch. Those of us who had the opportunity of living when he lived and worked have been really very fortunate. Generations yet unborn will recall with wonder and admiration how millions of us could see him walking this land, talking to people and actually working with his hands. In the course of his eventful life he gained unparalleled fame as a political leader. But it will be only a partial view of his life if we think that he was merely a political leader. His political career assumed importance because he fought for the freedom of the country with his unique weapons of truth and non-violence. Not that others before him did not think of freedom of the country or work for it; in fact, many devoted their whole life to this mission. The unique contribution of Gandhiji's lay in the fact that he placed in our hands weapons that brought us our freedom. Non-violence and *Satyagraha*, on which he insisted, were not intended only for political purposes; he looked upon them as the fundamental principles of his life and applied them to every question that came up to him for consideration. He did not claim, at any time, to have evolved a philosophy or a system of philosophy. He was never tired of saying that instead of writing a thesis, he was engaged in the actual application of his principles to concrete problems that came up before him: and if we turn over the pages of his writings, we can see him devoting column after column to very small and minor items. To him a small item was not unimportant if it involved a question of principle. He was so cautious about the application of his principles that he evolved a whole series of propositions which applied to the life of man. A small incident like the shooting of a monkey or the killing of a calf would attract his attention as much as the big question of the winning of *Swaraj*. If he was so very careful about his principles and so very punctilious about their application, you should not think that he did not take a comprehensive view of things. He had before him an integrated picture of what a country should be like. The foundation for the type of society he desired to see

* Speech on the occasion of the inauguration of Gandhi Kalai Munram at Rajapalaiyam, 16 November, 1955.

established was truth and *ahimsa*. In particular, he wanted to see these principles applied to India where we have variety of religions, languages, customs and traditions. He wanted to forge these diverse elements into a strong nation. He felt that if people following different religions insisted upon everybody else accepting their religion, there would be no end to quarrel. Similarly, he said, if people speaking different languages quarrelled with one another, there would be no peace and amity in this land. He, therefore, insisted upon *ahimsa*, the principle of living and letting others live. He applied this principle not only to his opponents but also to his own people. He said that if we adopted non-violence against the British Government, it was all the more necessary that we applied it to our own lives and did not fight among ourselves on the basis of religion, caste, sect or creed. Gandhiji also wanted that the rich people should regard themselves as trustees of their wealth for the sake of the poor. That way he wanted to solve through *ahimsa* the big problem of disparities in wealth.

It is quite true that every problem cannot be solved through *ahimsa*. Everything has its own action and reaction. In the world of today, we find that countries have been fighting countries and nations have been fighting one another for many a long year. Within our generation we have seen two World Wars fought for the purpose of ending war. Can anyone in his senses claim that war has ended or that all this violence which has been there for ages succeeded in ending violence? Whether in the sphere of religion, economics or politics, violence has never solved any question. If it had solved problems, there would have been no problem left for us to solve. But the fact that there still are problems today shows that they have not been solved by the methods so far pursued by Governments. Can *ahimsa* solve our problems? The answer is none too simple. The application of *ahimsa* to our present day problems is no doubt difficult, but perhaps it is not more difficult than *himsa*. Take the example of an army which fights. If there is a war in one generation, the army is prepared throughout the period for fighting. Every soldier has to prepare himself from day to day and hour to hour for the fight; and apart from the actual soldier, the whole nation has to prepare itself to support the soldiers, and this process has gone on for ages and from generation to generation. Nobody can say that *ahimsa* has been tried out to the same extent in any country or by any people. The great service that Mahatma Gandhi rendered to mankind was that he gave it a

trial in this country. He had to deal with such material as was then available to him. I cannot claim that we were very good material; yet, even with this indifferent material he was able to achieve his objective. It should not require much effort to imagine that if it is tried on a bigger scale, we can achieve other nobler objectives also. It is a fact that the world today is beginning to turn towards Gandhiji. With the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb, they have practically come to the end of the tether as far as the other method is concerned. Thoughtful and far-seeing people have recognised that. They are on the look-out for an alternative, and naturally their thought turns to Mahatma Gandhi's method. But, unfortunately, there is so far no complete understanding of that method. It will not be right to think that other people are unable to understand Gandhiji. We who have had the privilege of living in this country during his time have also not fully understood him, and if that is so after all our experience, how can we blame others? But the little that we have understood of him should be enough for us, at any rate for the time being, to place his ideals before others. Our association with him places on us a special responsibility. It was a misfortune not only for India but for the world that at a time when he was in a position to give his message to the world, he was taken away by one of us. That was a great calamity. Let us hope that after that event we have understood something of Gandhiji. His *ahimsa* was tested at the last moment and he stood the test very successfully with the name of Ram on his lips; and we can very well hope that on his death he had become stronger and a greater supporter of his own instrument than even perhaps during his life-time. Since we won our independence through his method we find ourselves in a position of special responsibility. The fact that we are now the moulders of our own destiny and are in a position to influence the world enhances that responsibility. Let us hope that the day is not far off when we shall be able to do something on his lines. Our Prime Minister has been fighting hard for peace in the world. That is one of his cherished aims. But that work will not be complete unless we have adopted Gandhiji's *ahimsa* in toto. We have to adopt it in our everyday life and the discrepancy that is noticed by everybody between our professions and our practices should be removed. *Ahimsa* cannot come unless it is built upon the foundation of *Sanyam*. We have, therefore, to practise the old *Niyams* which were given to us by our forefathers long long ago. In the prayers which Gandhiji used to say every day, there was

a *sloka* in which he mentioned eleven *pratigyas*. He used to repeat these *pratigyas* or vows every morning and evening at the time of his prayer, and it is on the foundation of these that the structure of *ahimsa* can be built. It is a matter for regret and shame that with Gandhiji's passing away we have been somewhat sliding down the scale. That is seen in all spheres of life. It is no use blaming anyone for it. The best thing is to find out the fault and correct it. That is not only the best but also the easiest way of improving society. You cannot be sure that you have found the faults of others; but you can be sure about your own faults. One may not succeed in removing the faults of others; but if one desires, one can remove one's own. It was on this philosophy that the whole programme of non-cooperation was based. Remove your own weaknesses, and the oppression of others will cease. It is, therefore, necessary for us to take advantage of institutions like the Munram which is going to be housed here, and try to improve ourselves. It was for this reason that I felt that it was a very happy idea to have started an institution of this sort in this town. Let no one imagine that he is too small for any great purpose. One may not be able to achieve great things, but one sometimes may damage great things by what one does knowingly or unknowingly. Let us, therefore, be vigilant at least not to damage, and that can be done by each one of us improving himself. You will get good material in this institution in the books which will be stocked here. You will also get opportunities of exchanging ideas with one another and these must precede actual action. I hope you will make the best use of this institution and fulfil the high hopes of Sri Kumaraswami Raja and his associates.

BHOODAN PAD YATRA*

I regard it a great privilege to be associated with this morning's function. From its very inception I have watched the Bhoodan

* Inaugural Speech at Cape Comorin 2 February, 1956.

movement not only with great admiration but also with great interest. It is sometimes forgotten that Mahatma Gandhi did not regard independence as the sole objective for which he was working. He looked upon *Swaraj* as a means rather than an end. The end that he aimed at was the creation of a new order of society from which all exploitation will be ended and in which all human relations will be governed by love and not by an extraneous authority. It was for this reason that even for the attainment of *Swaraj* he prescribed non-violence as the only method to be used. It is true that we were unarmed and could not fight the mighty British power using violence. But other countries more or less similarly situated had taken recourse to arms and had succeeded in attaining their freedom, though in a limited sense. Gandhiji wanted his country to be free in a wider sense which meant that he did not merely desire political freedom, but also freedom for the individual from all forms of oppression and exploitation. In the early days of the Non-cooperation movement, some high-placed Englishman had said that by disarming his followers, Gandhiji had practically disarmed the British power. In those days it was difficult to believe that Gandhiji would succeed in his mission. Yet the latter never had any doubt in his mind. In spite of some initial set-backs, the country became free in 1947. But with the attainment of political independence, Gandhiji's mission was not over. He wanted to give our freedom a social and economic content. But, most unfortunately for us and for the whole world, he was taken away by Providence at a time when he was in the best position to give his message to the world. Gandhiji believed in a democratic order which was free from all forms of exploitation and in which there were no disparities in wealth. But he did not want to make the poor rich by dispossessing the wealthy. He desired that those who had riches should treat themselves as trustees for the poor; in other words, he wanted that every rich man should shake off his selfishness. While holding riches, he should hold them not for his own individual enjoyment but for the benefit of all.

Land has always been regarded as one of the richest and most precious possessions of man. Vinobaji wants people to dispossess themselves of this most precious of possessions. There have been cases of dispossession of land in other countries. But this has happened through bloody revolutions. In India, we are trying to achieve the same objective through love. Vinobaji is thus trying to fulfil what was left incomplete by Gandhiji. His is thus only a symbolic movement. Because land is so much valued, he has

launched his first attack against it. In reality, he is trying to revolutionise our entire thinking process. If his movement succeeds, we shall find ourselves in a different world. If we can part with land, our most precious possession, we can certainly dispossess ourselves of less precious things. Vinobaji's appeal has already made a deep impression on the people. In fact, I cannot think of any other instance in world's history where 46 lakh acres of land have been given away as free gift by their owners; and remember that these gifts have been made by people who are very rich as well as by people who are very poor. While some of the rich have given of their plenty, the poor have not hesitated to share poverty. The Bhoodan movement has by now completed five years of its life. We are left with about a year and eight months in which to reach the target fixed by Vinobaji. Every movement takes time to develop a tempo. The Swaraj Movement which was started by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920 attained its objective only in 1947. In the same way let us hope that the Bhoodan movement will also gather momentum as it goes on. It has already had the advantage of a very impressive start.

In their fight for freedom, our countrymen did not hesitate to make big sacrifices, even involving the loss of life and liberty. After the attainment of Swaraj, we are not being asked to make such great sacrifices but only to share our wealth with the poor. Let us hope that our past experience will stand us in good stead and we shall succeed in this movement also. Gandhiji's spirit is watching us and I am sure it will give us the necessary strength and inspiration. Government is trying to help the Bhoodan movement in every way it can. But it is necessary that it keeps up its non-official character. Too much of Government participation will deprive it of much of its value. Your Prime Minister has blessed the movement and I am personally here to inaugurate the *yatra*. But, for this work, we consider ourselves not as members of the Government, but as humble servants of the country. I would, therefore, ask every one of you to make your own contribution to the success of the movement. I wish godspeed to those who are going to join the Bhoodan *yatra*. We have had other *yatras* of great historic significance. The great Satyagraha of 1930 was started by Gandhiji with a *yatra*. The Bhoodan movement also owes its origin to a *yatra* by Vinobaji. This *yatra* has not ended and is not going to end before success is achieved. Just as the Ganga rises in the Himalayas as a small streamlet but gathers force and volume

as it goes along, so also this movement which was started five years ago in the shape of a small rivulet is bound to gather momentum as it proceeds. The *yatra* which is going to be started by Shrimati Sushila Nayyar and Shri Cheriyan Thomas today will serve as one of the tributaries of the great Ganga. Let us all, therefore, pray for the success of this movement.

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE MASTER*

I am happy I have had an opportunity to come and spend a few days with you in this city. Nearly three years ago I decided that I should spend a part of the year somewhere in the South. We observe two National days in the year—one, the 15th of August and the other the 26th of January. I decided that while I should spend the 26th of January in Delhi, I should spend the 15th of August every year somewhere in the South. In accordance with this decision I celebrated Independence Day (15th August) for the first time in Bangalore and for the second time at Kurnool. This is the third time, and I am going to celebrate it here in your city. I also decided that we should have a place of residence for the President somewhere in the South. Luckily I found a ready-made house in Hyderabad and selected that for the residence of the President. I know some friends think that Hyderabad is situated in the heart of India, it is not in the South. I am in that way on the threshold of both, the South and the North. Being on the threshold I can see both sides, and I can assure you that, having lived there for some little time, I feel that the choice was not bad. That, however, does not exclude the selection of a third place somewhere further south. That I can leave to my successor to do. I do not wish to take all the credit to myself in this respect.

* Address at the prayer meeting at Gandhi Mandapam, Guindy, Madras, 12 August, 1956.

But this evening I want to talk to you about something else. I was not really prepared to make a speech because I did not think that there would be a meeting here. I came here more in the spirit of a pilgrim to a place of worship because this place is associated with the name of Mahatma Gandhi. On account of the great struggle in which Mahatma Gandhi led us, we are apt to associate his name with politics and politics alone. Great as his services and contribution to the cause of *Swaraj* were, I know his contribution to the higher values of life was even greater, and that was intended not only for this country or for this time but for all countries and for all times. There is a proverb on our side which says that you cannot see the light right under the lamp. The lamp spreads its light all round, but it cannot be seen just below it. But if the same lamp is moved about you can see the place where it first stood. We are yet too near Mahatma Gandhi, too much under his influence, to be able to realise the great services he rendered to the nation. What is unfortunate is that we are too near him even to follow him. India knows more than any one else the spiritual heritage which he has left us. Our whole life, our whole culture, our whole civilization, our whole tradition is based on things which he preached, taught and practised. While he did not want that anyone should go without full meals or adequate clothing, he did not attach all the importance in life to these things. He was a firm believer in the old adage that man lives not by bread alone, but he needs bread all the same. He, therefore, attached much importance to the cause of the poor.

Since attaining *Swaraj*, we are paying great deal of attention to the problem of poverty in this land. We are having plans after plans for the purpose of raising the material standard of our life. All that is good so far as it goes. But let us not forget the other higher values of life. We want each individual to be really good, and the *bhajan* which has just been sung has said what it is to be a good man. He who feels pain when others are in pain is a true Vaishnav. He removes the pain of others but does not feel proud in the process. There are many other good things said in that *bhajan*. We in this country need today to revive memories of these things. We hear complaints of this thing going wrong or that thing going wrong because of the failure of man. That means that our character is unable to stand the strain that it is put to. That strain comes from many directions and in many ways. There is greed,

there is fear, there is also a desire to lord it over others. We have got to rid ourselves of these things. If Mahatma Gandhi is remembered a thousand years hence, it will be so because of his teachings. Let us, therefore, each one of us, in his or her own humble way, try to follow the path which he chalked out for us and for the world. We have got Gandhi memorials erected in many places in this country. But the greatest and the best memorial to him can be erected in the form of our right thoughts and right deeds.

With this noble prayer, let us disperse.

BUDDHA AND HIS TEACHINGS

THE WAY OF THE BUDDHA*

On this auspicious day, which is the 2,500th anniversary of the *parinirvana* of Lord Buddha, I send my greetings to all fellow-beings in this country and outside it. It is a great day for the whole world as it focuses our attention on one of the sublimest of messages in the heritage of mankind. Lord Buddha's message appears to be in contrast with current world trends and yet it irresistibly attracts the moderner on account of its loftiness, universal peace and tolerance and its practical approach to the problems which man has had and will always have to face in the world.

As an humble admirer of Lord Buddha, I would commend his teachings, particularly his moral discipline embodied in the Eight-fold Path to all men and all nations. Perhaps never before was the world so torn by strife and violence, and the need of Buddha's message of love, tolerance and peace was never greater than it is today.

Buddha did not preach from a high pedestal. His teachings are essentially practical, meant for common men in all walks of life. His principle of avoiding extremes and preferring the golden mean is a valuable contribution to world thought. The *madhyam marga* or the Middle Path essentially makes for peace and paves the way for a practical solution of complicated problems with which the path of mankind has been beset in all ages and all climes. With the progress science and all-round advance in man's faculties, the present-day problems between man and man and nation and nation have assumed a proportion altogether unthought of in ancient or medieval ages.

Seen in the light of the present-day situation when atomic energy seems to be vesting man with boundless capacity to do good or harm, Buddha's philosophy of life and his message to mankind is of particular significance today. Far from being outmoded, it has assumed for discerning men an importance equal to life itself.

Humanity is literally on the cross-roads today. We shall have to decide whether with all the advance made by science we have to co-exist, making scientific technique a real blessing for every man, or whether we must circumscribe our vision and pin our faith on

* Broadcast talk on the eve of Buddha Jayanti, 23 May, 1956.

weapons of aggression. The latter course is bound to lead to world-wide clashes, of which we have seen quite a few in living memory. This way lies destruction and, may be, the very doom of mankind. Following the path of peaceful co-existence as preached by the Buddha appears to be the only alternative to destructive wars and subsequent misery. Luckily, this fact is now beginning to be widely appreciated. Thoughtful persons in all countries realize that the time has come when the Buddha's path of love and peace, long enshrined in books, should be adopted in a more practical form in order to save the world from sure annihilation. I hope the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha will give an impetus to this belief and thus create a climate of opinion in which the wisdom and the feasibility of the Lord's message will be pondered earnestly.

The birth of Prince Sidhartha, who lived like any other mortal being and who attained *nirvana* or the state of highest bliss through conscious endeavour and persistent effort, is perhaps the biggest single event in the history of our country, if not of the world. Though India is a haloed land where the Buddha trod, lived and preached, as a matter of fact Gautama, like other prophets, belongs to the whole world and his message is truly universal.

On this solemn occasion, I have great pleasure in extending a hearty welcome to all those foreign visitors who have come to India in connection with the Buddha Jayanti. Let me hope that in our joining together in paying our homage to the Enlightened One all of us will be inspired by his message and that the common fount of this inspiration will also bring different nations of the world closer to one another in realisation of the truth of the eternal values embodied in that message.

BUDDHA JAYANTI*

It is 2,500 years today that Gautama attained *mahaparinirvana* and became Buddha for all times, and it is to commemorate that

* Speech delivered at a public meeting at Ramlila Grounds, New Delhi, in celebration of the 2500th anniversary of the *mahaparinirvana* of Lord Buddha, 24 May, 1956.

solemn event that we are celebrating Buddha Jayanti today. During these 25 centuries, Buddha's teachings and his message to mankind have been tested on the touchstone of time. As we review the happenings of that hoary past and try to compare them with the conditions obtaining today, we see in a kaleidoscope as it were all that has been enacted on the stage of history. Among the few things that can be reckoned as abiding or immutable, foremost seem to be the Buddha's teachings. His message of universal peace and tolerance attracts us today in spite of the vast geographical and social changes that time has wrought in world conditions in this long and eventful period. That is, why I believe, celebrating the Buddha Jayanti is of utmost significance for the world today.

Buddha's teachings are characterised by elements which we have learnt to ascribe to the modern age or the present-day thought. In the truest sense of the word Gautama was a rationalist and reason occupied a high place in his scheme of things, so much so that, the system which he evolved may well be described as the path of reason. The Buddha enjoined on everyone to purify himself in the light of his own reason. To achieve this high ideal, he propounded the noble Eightfold Path, which embodied eight principles or rules of conduct. In these, there are five prohibitions, namely, kill not, steal not, commit no adultery, lie not, drink no strong drink, of special significance. These five rules came to be known later on as Panchsheel. According to the Buddha one who remains steadfast in these principles or norms of conduct and follows constantly the call of his reason, can attain *nirvana*. In actual fact, these principles of conduct have universal application and no civilised society in any part of the world can have anything to say against them.

Another special feature of the Buddha's teachings is that whatever he taught was acquired through personal experience and tested by actual practice. Practicality is, therefore, the main characteristic of his teachings. He laid before mankind the path of *nirvana* or the highest bliss, but at the same time he insisted that every individual had to strive himself for achieving this goal. The Buddha said in clearest possible words that he was no more than a guide or a teacher and that the duty to act or to follow the specified path necessarily devolved upon every individual. He also enjoined that everyone should be a lamp unto himself so that in the midst of enveloping darkness one has to find one's own way with the help of the lamp of reason. This is exactly what is meant by the path of

reason. The Panchsheel and the Eightfold Path are there to help people to tread on it.

The Buddha looked upon man as the focal point of his teachings. Reason has been assigned such an important place only because it is man's principal attribute, which distinguishes him from all other beings. By his own example, the Buddha proved how man could attain to the highest state by following the path of truth and *ahimsa*. In his teachings and his conversations with the Bhikshus, Gautama never claimed to be anything higher than man. In fact, he categorically denied being super-human or an incarnation. He ascribed his spiritual development leading to enlightenment to constant endeavour, that is, his ability to follow the Eightfold Path.

Karma or action has been assigned a very high place in Buddhism. The Buddha believed in the inevitability of *karma* and the immutability of the chain of cause and effect, but he also believed that man was entirely free to do good actions and avoid bad ones by following the call of reason and the Eightfold Path. According to him life does not begin with birth or end with death. Every individual has to pass through innumerable lives and this chain of death and re-birth ends only with the attainment of *nirvana*. The question of good and evil, virtue and vice has ever posed a problem before mankind. It is necessary for man to understand what is evil and then avoid it just as he should know what is good or *dhamma* and seek refuge in it. In this way after propounding *dhamma* and the Eightfold Path, the Buddha invited mankind to follow them with a view to evolving themselves into highest beings and not for the sake of entering heaven after death. This appears out and out to be a modern conception. If the Buddha has equated worldly existence with misery, he has also taught the way of getting the better of that misery and achieving *nirvana* by controlling the cause of misery.

It is generally known how much emphasis the Buddha placed on love, *ahimsa* and peace—virtues which have been given the pride of place in his rules of conduct. I think it is these rules of conduct and moral behaviour which were primarily responsible for the expansion and wide recognition of the Buddhist faith in ancient times. Numberless men and women have achieved peace and true happiness by following Buddha's teachings. These teachings and the Buddhist way of life have greatly influenced Indian thought. Even today we look upon those traditions as an integral part of and a sublime contribution to Indian heritage. It is our cherished desire even today to act up to those principles of conduct.

The history of India bears testimony to the great development which followed the teachings of Lord Buddha in the realms of culture, art, philosophy, literature and social organisation. His ideal inspired the people of this country to great constructive endeavour. The vast Buddhist literature extant up to this day in Pali and Sanskrit forms is undoubtedly a part of our cultural treasure. Not only that, this literature found a fertile soil in other countries of Asia also and it proved to be of inestimable value in the cultural development of those countries. In the golden age of our history there was a time when the great Universities of Takshashila, Ujjayini, Nalanda, Vikramshila, etc., were busy developing Asian literature and philosophy. Countries like China, Korea, Tibet, Turkistan, Mongolia, Java, Sumatra, Burma, etc., were also connected with those universities. Many thousand volumes on Buddhism are still in existence in the languages of these countries, while the originals in many cases have been lost in India. For about eight centuries, from the days of Asoka up to the times of the Imperial Guptas, Buddhism was our chief source of inspiration in the field of fine arts. The Buddhist art also inspired other Asian countries like Afghanistan, East Asia, Central Asia, China, Ceylon, etc., and largely influenced local trends in art and culture. A large section of the world's human population derived inspiration from Buddhist art and culture. The present-day development of Indian art has also been greatly inspired by the art of Ajanta.

The important conclusions at which the Buddha arrived as a result of his relentless efforts and experience occupy a very high place in the history of world thought, and their importance from the point of view of the edification of man is of extraordinary import. There is hardly a parallel in world history to the originality and freedom of thought which Lord Buddha displayed, although, naturally enough, he was not a little influenced by the traditional thought of India. Assigning a high place to the theory of *karma* and re-birth in his system may be cited as examples of that influence. In order to appreciate the Buddha's reaction to the traditional Indian beliefs and thought and to know why he laid so much emphasis on people thinking independently of those beliefs and searching the right path for themselves, it is essential to understand the history of those times and the conditions then prevailing in India. It was imperative for any reformer or religious leader to remedy the laxity and clear the prevailing confusion of thought. Although the Buddha flourished at that particular time in our history and had before him

a set of specific conditions to which he inevitably reacted, his greatness lies in the fact that the remedies which he evolved as a result of his search for truth and spiritual perfection hold good even after a lapse of 2,500 years and his teachings are acknowledgedly a source of inspiration and right-thinking even today.

The teachings of Lord Buddha, the trends developed by the Buddhist faith and the consequent renaissance in the realms of culture, art and literature, became in course of time a part of the Indian life, tradition and culture, and are so even today. Not only India but the whole world needs today the sublimating and edifying message of the Buddha. Just as human welfare and service of mankind were the ideals of *Bodhisattva* and the alleviation of human suffering was looked upon as a goal to be preferred even to *moksha* or *nirvana* itself, even so also it is essential that the present-day world should place before itself the welfare of man and the removal of want and misery as the foremost ideals to work for.

Tanha or craving was considered by the Buddha as the real cause of misery. He believed that if rising above craving and greed by following the rules of good conduct, man could develop the faculty of renouncing or giving away voluntarily, all misery would disappear automatically. The theory of renunciation is not a new concept for our country. Even since the beginning of Indian thought, renunciation has been looked upon as a high ideal. By his astute logic and extraordinary reason, the Buddha provided a firmer basis for it. Even today we have in our country saints like Vinoba Bhave who have kept that tradition alive. The basis of Sarvodaya and *Bhoomidan* is, after all, nothing but renunciation, the capacity to give away voluntarily. Renunciation really means wilful surrender of rights and privileges in the larger interests of the society or the nation.

The life of Lord Buddha and his feeling of love for all beings, would ever remain a high ideal before the world. It was his belief that violence cannot end violence but peace and charity alone can end it. The best known illustration of the truth of this dictum is provided by Asoka's life. Distressed by the suffering and misery caused by his war in Kalinga, he rightly understood and realised the significance of this truth. Not only did Asoka adopt it in his own personal life but also made it the basis of his entire State policy. He abandoned war for ever and looked upon victory of *dhamma* to be the greatest victory. A war in present-day conditions is a

thousand times more destructive and terrible than Asoka's war of Kalinga.

Today man is on the cross-roads. Thanks to his researches and scientific inventions, he can say with pride that in many a sphere he has got over the limitations nature imposed upon him. He has thus not only opened for himself the gateway of limitless progress but also acquired the capacity to tread on it to unthought of length and height. He has come to have sway over limitless sources of material comfort. It is an irony of fate that the very same capacity has given man access to limitless power of destruction. It is for this reason that one witnesses so many conflicts and clashes in the world. Violence cannot eradicate violence just as it is not possible to extinguish fire by pouring oil on the flames. Even so by following the above principles of Lord Buddha can the world avert wars and enjoy the blessings of peace.

Inspired by that ideal free India adopted the Asoka Chakra as her State emblem. Undoubtedly we owe allegiance to that ideal, even though we may not be able to act up to it in our present circumstances. With all our weaknesses and failings we have to follow the rules of conduct laid down by Lord Buddha and to derive inspiration from them in the formulation of our national and international policies. It is our high ambition that the day may come when we are also able to show the spiritual fervour and moral strength that Asoka showed after the Kalinga war. Whether we succeed or not in that high endeavour, I think it is the duty of all peace-loving nations of the world today to adopt this ideal as a basis of their State policy. It is my earnest hope and prayer that the efforts being made by various countries to agree on the programme of disarmament will bear fruit. Then alone shall we be able to say that the world is not indifferent to Buddha's message and Asoka's ideal and that we are endeavouring to mould our lives on Buddha's incontrovertible tenet that non-violence, not violence, can end violence and aggression. Howsoever difficult of achievement this ideal might look today, I am sure a day would come when the peace promised by it and the sure annihilation threatened by war would inevitably drive mankind to accept that ideal.

In this atomic age, man must decide whether he would fight violence with violence or with friendliness. May god give India the strength to disarm herself and thus prove that she places no reliance on brute force! The day India is able to do that, she would become unconquerable. Till then she cannot come out of the vicious circle,

nor place before the world Panchsheel with its pure, unalloyed and glowing glory. Whether India is able to do so or not, must other powerful nations remain incapable of appreciating the significance of the perennial truth embodied in this ideal?

There is a dim ray of hope visible on the horizon. Several countries are inclining towards Panchsheel and some have already accepted it. The big powers, even if they are not contemplating today a complete ban on armament, are at least thinking of limiting it and talks are proceeding on this issue. When will the day dawn when they realise this truth and give an opportunity to all countries to utilize their power and resources not for destructive purposes but in the interests of peace and happiness? If these celebrations are able to attract popular attention towards this problem, they will have proved successful and served a great cause.

I am glad to announce that the Government of India have decided to create a Chair in Buddhist Studies in the University of Delhi in commemoration of the Buddha Jayanti celebrations.

BUDDHA JAYANTI EXHIBITION, EGMORE

Inaugural Address

27 May, 1956

It gives me genuine pleasure to be associated with this function of opening of the Exhibition of Buddhistic art. As has been pointed out, during the last week or so, we have been celebrating the 2500th anniversary of the *parinirvana* of Bhagvan Buddha. In all parts of the country, we have had meetings and other forms for expressing our deep reverence to his memory. We have utilised this occasion to remind ourselves of the great teachings and the great message which the Buddha gave us and to the world at large. We have reminded ourselves how, within a short period, the teachings of the Buddha covered not only the whole of India but also a great part of South-East Asia, Central Asia, China and Japan.

In India itself, Buddhism flourished for at least a thousand years of which we can justly be proud, because, it was not only a religious revival, but a revival in every sphere of life, in art, in culture, and even today we see remains of what was achieved in those days by our artists. This Exhibition will itself show to you what we were able to achieve in those days and how even today our artists are drawing inspiration from what we have of those achievements of our ancestors. It was not only in the field of art, but even more so in the spiritual field, that the Buddha lived and taught us to live. He created a new set of values for us. We were undoubtedly rich in our philosophic thought and in our metaphysical literature even before the Buddha. And it is, I believe, right to say that Buddhism is not a new faith, but only a sort of protestant schism which grew out of Hinduism.

It is, I believe, wrong to suggest that Buddhism was destroyed in India. As a matter of fact it was absorbed by Hinduism. It emerged out of Hinduism and got merged into Hinduism in course of time. Its richest heritage is the heritage not only of the Buddhists alone, but of the Hindus as much. We can all claim today the Buddha in the truest sense as an *Avatar* so far as the Hindus are concerned. After all the *shila* which the Buddha preached is nothing but the *yama* and *niyama* of the Hindus. The same importance and emphasis are attached to life, to the control of the senses, to the principle of renunciation in Hinduism as in Buddhism, and these are the fundamental teachings of the Buddha as much as of the *Upanishads*. We, therefore, claim all the Buddhists as our own and we hope they treat us as their own. That is the great lesson we have to learn out of the celebrations which we have had for these several days.

The world today needs the message and the teachings of the Buddha more than ever before. With the great advance in the field must reconsider its values. And unless it is prepared to do that, it must reconsider its values. And unless it is prepared to do that, it must be prepared for destruction. In this age of the hydrogen bomb, the world is bound to come back to spiritual values and to detest, if not altogether eliminate, something of the materialistic conception of life which dominates us today. We see around us signs of a reawakening in that sense and the very science which has enabled us to discover new sources of strength has also given us power to create new forces of destruction. It is realisation of the latter which will force the hands of the world, even if it is not

willing to do so, to reconsider its values and re-establish the dominance of spiritualism over materialism. The Buddha Jayanti has great value from that point of view, and I am only hoping that, as a result of greater emphasis on the teachings of the Buddha, not only in those countries which profess to follow its faith, but also in other places realisation will dawn that after all we are not moving altogether in the right direction and that we have to change our direction.

That day is coming; it is bound to come. We have to work for it. I feel in that respect India has a special mission. I hope I am not arrogating too much to myself when I say that we have a special mission. Our whole history, our whole tradition, our whole culture bear witness to the fact that we have never relied upon mere physical force. Buddhism spread throughout India and outside India without physical force. India has used force, no doubt, but never for the purpose of enforcing its views on others. Nor has India ever led a conquering army to another country in its long history. It has been subjected to invasions and it has had to submit to foreign conquerors. It has fought in self-defence, but let it be said to our credit—I say to our credit and not to our discredit—that we have never led a conquering army out of the bounds of India to conquer any foreign country. That being our tradition, may we not hope that in this age we may once again give that message to the world—that, after all, force, physical force is not everything? We have managed to survive without that kind of physical force and I hope we shall live to give that message to the world some day.

Today we are not in a position to do that because we are not able to make good our claim that we depend only upon spiritual force. We have won our independence undoubtedly to a certain extent depending upon that force. But we cannot claim that it was entirely on that account that we won it. If we had won it entirely on account of that, then our message would have gone to the world by now and we need not have had to wait for Gandhiji or some others after him to come and carry that message to the world. But since we are only partially true to that message, our work has remained half-done. Now that we have won independence and we are free, let us hope that the day will come when we shall be in a position to give that message in a practical way to the world by placing before it the ideal of spiritualism as against materialism.

An Exhibition like the one I am going to open now will remind us of many of the things which were done by our ancestors in the

past. That will give us a glimpse into the glorious history. I can only hope that the present generation will draw inspiration from that past and will uphold the great traditions which have been built up during the centuries. In the present, we cannot afford only to be depending upon past traditions. We must build for the future, and it is for us to build a future which will be even more glorious than the past. Let us hope God will give us the strength to do that.

ADDRESS TO BHIKSHUS

7 November, 1956

I am most happy and grateful for the opportunity you have given me to meet you all this evening. As you know the Government of India and the Provincial Governments concerned have taken great pains and incurred heavy expenditure this year to improve the approaches and also the localities where the sacred Buddhist places are situated. The total amount spent may add up to a crore of rupees in the course of this year. That indicates the interest which the Government of India and the people of India are taking in Buddhism and its sacred places.

You have been good enough to mention some points which I shall have looked into. I will try to see that as far as possible no complaints are left unattended. You have mentioned Bodha Gaya. I have been personally connected with the Bodha Gaya affair for a pretty long time. More than 25 years ago a deputation of Buddhists from Ceylon and Burma came here. It wanted to have control of the Bodha Gaya temple. At that time though the Congress had nothing to do with the Government, it took up the matter and appointed a committee to make suggestions as to how best the Bodha Gaya temple could be managed in the interests of all and to the satisfaction of the Buddhists. The Committee, of which I happened to be Secretary at the time, recommended that the management of the temple should be placed in the hands of a committee on which Buddhists as well as Hindus should be represented. That

was because the Hindus also worshipped the Buddha. Their method of worship may differ from that of the Buddhists but they held Lord Buddha in great veneration as one of the *Avatars*. We could not do anything at that time as there was a Mahant in actual possession of the temple and he did not agree to part with his right. In 1937, however, when the Congress for the first time formed Government in Bihar, it took up the question of the appointment of a temple committee once again. Unfortunately, however, the Ministry lasted only a short time and nothing much could be achieved. In 1946, the Congress again came to power. The matter was then reopened and a law was passed by virtue of which the management of the temple was taken away from the Mahant and entrusted to a committee on which both the Hindus and Buddhists were represented. I shall mention the points referred to in your address to the temple committee, and I see no reason why at least two or three matters referred to by you should not be complied with unless there are some technical difficulties in the way. In any case, I cannot foresee any objection, so far as the Government of Bihar is concerned.

You have said in your address that there is no suitable platform for offering lights in the temple. I do not see any difficulty in meeting this request. You have also mentioned that there is no arrangement for lights in front of the image all the 24 hours of the day and night, and that facilities should be given to pious pilgrims to stick gold-foils to the image. I shall refer these matters to the Temple Committee, though personally I do not see any difficulty in accepting these suggestions.

You have also said that you require land for building *dharmshalas* and rest houses for pilgrims who come for worship. I believe that in all these places, including Bodha Gaya, some *dharamshalas* have been built which are pretty big and well furnished. Some houses have also been built by the well-to-do people. If more *dharamshalas* are needed, they can certainly be built with the help of philanthropic organizations and individuals. Being a thickly populated area, the availability of land may present some problem, but the Government can always acquire land for an essential purpose.

About Kushinara, you said that you saw some people digging out bricks from the stupa. As you know, all sacred places including Kushinara have been taken over by the Archaeological Department. They are, therefore, protected monuments, and

anyone found damaging them is liable to prosecution under the ordinary law of the land.

You have also mentioned that there should be facilities for the study of the Tibetan language and its ancient literature. I may tell you that at Nalanda, which was at one time a great seat of Buddhistic learning, I, as President, laid the foundation-stone of an institute for the study of Buddhistic literature about four years ago. Since then the Institute has started functioning and some 30 or 40 students from various countries are already engaged in research work there. I do not know whether there are any facilities in this institute for the study of Tibetan literature, but I shall refer this matter to the Director and see whether anything can be done to encourage the study of Tibetan by the students as also of Indian languages by Tibetans and others. Regarding the other small matters mentioned in your address, I would request you to give me the points in writing so that I might ask the authorities concerned to look into them.

I am glad that you have had an opportunity of going round the country and seeing things for yourselves. I have no doubt that there is a great revival of interest in Buddhistic studies everywhere and throughout the country much interest is being taken both by the people and by our State Governments. In this way, the 2500th anniversary of Lord Buddha is going to be an occasion of great significance. We are also organising an exhibition of Buddhist art which will be opened in a few days. I have no doubt that our relations with the Buddhist countries and also with the Buddhists who are living within our own borders will become closer and friendly. So far as the latter are concerned we feel that we are one with them. There is really no difference between Hindus and Buddhists. We look upon the Buddhists as one with us and I feel sure you would also do likewise and not consider the teachings of Lord Buddha as different from those of Hinduism. Buddhism to Hindus is just like Protestantism to Christians.

There may be some difficulty as I understand in adjusting things so as to suit both Mahayana and Hinayan schools in details of worship.

At the time when I was in Bodha Gaya, there were one or two matters that were brought to my notice. It was reported to me that some Buddhists came and made offerings which we do not consider as suitable. For example, I might say that some

Buddhists from some countries made offerings of meat, and to this objections were raised. I do not suppose that it is compulsory to offer meat and if you can avoid offering it, it will satisfy the Hindus. There is a temple in Katiragama, Ceylon, over which the Hindus claim to have some right, but this is a matter which should be settled with the Ceylonese Buddhists.

I am very glad to meet you all and I hope your stay in this country will be pleasant and you will carry good impressions.

BUDDHIST ART EXHIBITION, DELHI

Inaugural Speech

10 November, 1956

I am grateful to the Lalit Kala Akadami for asking me to inaugurate this Exhibition of Buddhist Art. The more one thinks of the Buddhist way of life, its religious tenets, its evolution as a popular faith and its spread in far-flung regions of Asia, the more is one able to understand the great motivating force behind the magnificent and massive works of art created during the hey-day of Buddhism. These works of art, scattered not only in all parts of India, but right from the string of South-East Asian countries and the Pacific Islands up to the expansive wastes of Outer Mongolia, and further north and west, represent a creative upsurge inspired by Buddha's life and his teachings.

This fact as also the nature of the paintings and sculpture leave none in doubt that the inspiration of Buddhist art came from religion. A large majority of these works, whether paintings or sculpture, were enlisted to display the glory of the Buddha and the life of the Master. The story of the Buddha's past births (the jatakas) and other edifying legends became the primary subject-matter for inspired artists.

The stupas, the chaitya halls and the various figures of the Lord in different poses cut in stone or cast in metal, go to show

that while the fount of inspiration for the artists in various countries was the same, local customs and influence were allowed to operate so as to modify the works of art in each country in accordance with prevailing conditions. These two features—an underlying universality or unity of all Buddhist art and the diversity of exposition from region to region—appear to be perfectly in keeping with the harmonizing spirit of the Buddhist faith.

For some five centuries preceding and about double that period following the Christian era, India witnessed a phenomenal growth of Buddhist art and culture. As the message of the Buddha spread to other countries, *bhikshus* carried with them not only the teachings of the Lord and the atmosphere of the monasteries but also the inspiration which sought expression through the brush and the chisel. In fact, as one sees actually before him or even reads in print of the great works of art like those of Ajanta, Nagarjunakonda, Sanchi, Bharhut and Amaravati in India, Borobudur in Java, Bamiyan in Afghanistan and the Thousand Caves of the Buddhas in China, one wonders what mighty minds conceived those works and how many people must have laboured for years to give shape to them.

One's impact with these masterpieces of art is awe-inspiring. One cannot help feeling that human limbs and mere physical force could not have cut the hearts of mountains and turned them into pieces of exquisite art. It was without doubt the force of spiritual inspiration which drove the chisel through hard rocky surface and turned stony walls inside the caves into canvas inviting the brush. Man is at liberty to believe or doubt that faith can move mountains, but I do not think after seeing the rock-cut caves and other pieces of Buddhist art, he can doubt that faith can at least cut mountains, handling and hewing them almost like blocks of wood.

The Buddhist art which was created centuries ago to give expression to the devotional fervour and the edification of devout Buddhists, also serves today as the lithic chronicler of the East. I wonder if, but for the wide-spread evidence that we find today in the form of Buddhist monuments of art scattered in various lands, we would have been able to know so much about the past history of these areas, their relationship and cultural ties with one another. For a country like ours whose ancient available history unfortunately is marked by wide gaps of blank pages, relics of the old Buddhist art have come as friendly scribes to complete our

records by linking those gaps. This idea of the use of art is perhaps too mundane, but I hope it is not so profane as to persuade anyone to deny the great service rendered by them in the field of history.

As thoughts travel to ancient times, reminding us of Lord Buddha and his glory, the whole cavalcade of history, the mighty kings of yore who preferred a monk's robes to a golden throne, the great preachers who taught all their lives without resting at one place for more than a week, the master artists who generation after generation devoted themselves to the execution of a work of art—all these overpower one's imagination, making the finest of the things of life we see today look small, if not insignificant. As we see some of these massive structures inlaid with finest work of art, we feel the moderner can learn a lesson in perseverance and devotion to art from those builders. It was in the Buddhist art and the spirit of that gospel that the genius of the Indian race flowered. Great undoubtedly were those people as also the works which they have left behind, and equally great are they today, the passage of so many centuries notwithstanding.

This Exhibition of Buddhist Art which the Lalit Kala Akadami has organised is an excellent idea. It will provide an opportunity to people to appraise the campus of the Buddhist Art as also to appreciate its beauties. I congratulate the organisers of this Exhibition and have great pleasure in declaring it open.

THE GREAT TEACHER*

The celebrations which have been going on for some time in connection with the 2,500th anniversary of the *mahaparinirvana* of Lord Buddha, have served to carry the Lord's benign message and his teachings throughout the world, particularly in Buddhist countries and India. Fortunately these celebrations have come at a time when man had begun to feel tired of wars and violence.

* Speech at the concluding function of the Buddha Jayanti, New Delhi, 24 November, 1956.

Whatever little man might have done to rid himself of the evils of war and violence, he is getting convinced that unless mutual love and non-violence take the place of those evils, the world is doomed to destruction. It is also being felt that the creed of non-violence must permeate the atmosphere and mutual discussions must replace war as a means of settling international disputes, if the march towards sure annihilation has to be stopped.

It is a belief which Lord Buddha brought forth in his teachings and demonstrated in practice in his life for the benefit of humanity 2500 years ago. That is why his message sounds so fresh and modern in spite of the lapse of 25 centuries. Besides proving that the eternal truth of life was embodied in Lord Buddha's message, it also shows that in ultimate analysis the nature of human problems and the requirements of mankind are, in essence, the same today as they were two or three thousand years ago. The question thus arises how far, if at all, has man advanced since those times in bringing about mutual goodwill, friendliness, tolerance and love. The reply to this question is anything but satisfactory. In respect of material prosperity and scientific progress man has certainly advanced a great deal. But unfortunately he has not progressed to the same extent in matters spiritual, and this fact has made human progress one-sided. In these circumstances, scientific progress can be, and perhaps actually is, more a bane than a blessing.

It seems we have reached the limit of this disproportionate progress. Science has put such terrible weapons in the hands of man as may well endanger the very existence of this world. What better occasion can there be than the present one for remembering Lord Buddha's message and trying to follow it individually and collectively? At the same time, the spiritual horizon has so much widened in recent years that material considerations seem to be no more than a mere part of it. There can be no doubt that without developing a spiritual angle of vision, that is, without cultivating the basic human virtues of truth, love and non-violence, man might barter away all his happiness and prosperity. Therefore, even self-interest of man demands that he gives a high place in his life to these virtues.

In his *sheela* or code of behaviour Lord Buddha emphasized the importance of all these virtues and discussed them from the practical point of view. It is, I believe, our extreme good luck that the nations of the world have been provided an opportunity

by the Buddha Jayanti celebrations to remember and concentrate on the Lord's message. I trust that in the interests of peace and happiness mankind will turn more and more to this message. It is gratifying indeed that some nations have accepted Panchsheel, a code of international behaviour based on that very message. I am sure mutual differences and the feeling of suspicion can be got over by adopting Panchsheel and the world can free itself from the use of brutal force.

Lord Buddha's life, his significant pronouncements on matters of importance and his message are an open book for everyone. Anyone may benefit from them and raise himself high. In our country where the Lord achieved *nirvana* and preached his first sermon, the people hold him in the highest possible esteem. In accordance with ancient traditions our people conferred on him the status of divine incarnation and up to this day Lord Buddha is being worshipped in the form of Vishnu, one of the Hindu gods. Lord Buddha's message and religious tenets have made a deep impression on the Hindu faith and his *sheela* still forms a part of it.

In all humility, I would like to say one thing more. As I said, Lord Buddha achieved *nirvana* in this land and it was from here that he directed the propagation of his faith. For centuries, vast numbers of people of this country remained Buddhists and great kings and devout *bhikshus* carried the Lord's message zealously to many a foreign land. As chance would have it, or may be as a result of certain historical causes, in course of time the Buddhist faith as an institution practically disappeared from the land of its origin. In spite of all these developments I can claim that throughout these two thousand years or more, the faith and reverence of the people of this land towards Lord Buddha has never shaken. I wonder if a parallel to such a development can be found anywhere else in the annals of the world. I do not know of any other country where a prophet took birth, where for centuries the population of that country followed his faith and later on, having somehow deviated from it, the whole people, generation after generation, continued to hold that prophet in the same esteem and reverence, as has been the case in India with regard to Lord Buddha. Who knows this tolerance and the feeling of liberality might be the gift of Lord Buddha himself to this land?

As I have said above, the world is today passing through a critical period. While science has touched the lofty heights of development, it seems man has mistaken material prosperity for the only or real source of happiness. In fact, this belief is no more true than a mirage. Unless mankind develops an attitude of non-attachment towards material prosperity, one can never attain peace and abjure violence. It is only a proper synthesis of scientific knowledge and spiritual principles which can pull mankind out of its quandary. Man must give a place to the spiritual angle in his life. If he fails to do so, he will ever find himself on shaky ground. Having controlled the forces of nature, man must imbibe the spiritual principle so that he can be master of his own happiness and well-being.

Luckily there are indications that the world has begun to appreciate this problem. There have been prophets who saw the gulf between material prosperity and true happiness. Those great men have also given a warning to mankind. The teachings of Lord Buddha come to us as a blessing in such a situation. May we imbibe the teachings of the Lord and follow the path of peace and happiness, is my prayer. In this also lies the success of the celebrations organized in connection with the Buddha Jayanti.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT*

India lives very largely in villages. Although during recent times the urban population has been increasing very rapidly, about 80 per cent of our people still live in the villages. Anything done to bring about an all-round improvement of the villages and those who inhabit them should not only be welcomed, but given all possible encouragement by the State and the people at large. Mahatma Gandhi therefore attached the greatest importance to the welfare of villages. It is a happy idea to inaugurate the Community Development Programme on his birthday.

The terms "Community Development" and "Community Project" may be new, but the concept is very old. Basically, this concept means many-sided development of villages as distinguished from development relating to particular aspects. Experience in the working of the Grow More Food Programmes as well as the programmes undertaken by various State Governments and private agencies functioning in the sphere of village uplift, has established that all aspects of rural life are inter-related, and that no lasting results can be achieved if individual aspects of it are dealt with in isolation. This does not mean that particular problems should not be given prominence, but the plans for them should form part of, and be integrated with, those for achieving the wider aims. This can be achieved only if the energies of the administrative machinery of the States and the best unofficial leadership and enthusiasm of the masses, are all enlisted in its favour and concerted action is taken for the all-round improvement of agriculture, education, health, sanitation, welfare of cattle, provision of employment, etc., etc. Under the inspiration given by Gandhiji, a large amount of selfless work has been done by his followers in various parts of the country, and other organisations and individuals have also done considerable work in that direction. The resources, how-

* Speech broadcast on the occasion of the inauguration of Community Development Programme on 2 October, 1952.

ever, both in money and technical personnel, available to these have been limited and the progress consequently has not been as rapid or extensive as one would have wished. The Indo-United States Technical Co-operation Agreement of January 1952 has, I am happy to say, opened up new possibilities of advance along these lines.

I have always believed that the Indian peasant is no novice in agriculture and has practical experience which goes back to many generations. The remarkable adaptability with which the Bihar peasant, for example, has taken to the cultivation of new varieties of sugarcane to suit the requirements of sugar mills which have grown up during the last two decades shows quite clearly that the charge that the Indian peasant is conservative and does not care to adopt improved methods cannot stand scrutiny. What is necessary, therefore, is to demonstrate to him to his satisfaction that a new method or a new variety gives a larger yield or is otherwise profitable.

The most serious problem facing the country today is the one relating to insufficient production of food in the country. Even before the last Great War, India had been importing about 1½ million tons of rice every year from Burma. The deficit has increased as a result of partition in consequence of which the surplus areas of West Punjab and Sind have gone over to Pakistan. The increase in annual demand for foodgrains on account of increase in population has also been appreciable. To augment internal supplies it has been necessary for Government to import large quantities of foodgrains, the imports in the year 1951 reaching the figure of 47 lakh tons.

Our Planning Commission, the Government and all thoughtful people have been anxiously considering ways and means of increasing the food production for the purpose of closing this gap between production and requirement. The big river valley projects, some of which are already taken in hand, and others which are under contemplation, will take time to be completed, and are not expected to yield immediate results. For meeting the present deficit, we shall have to rely very largely on the minor irrigation projects, such as wells, tanks and tube-wells. Water available from small rivers, rivulets and channels can also be utilised. I am convinced, there is a great deal of scope for these small projects and I have no doubt that, if these are satisfactorily handled, we shall be able to close the existing gap in our food supply. I am therefore

happy to notice that in a community project area covering approximately 300 villages and 150,000 acres of cultivable land, nearly a third of the expenditure will be on minor irrigation works. If these are carried out through co-operative societies and the people living in these areas contribute in labour, which absorbs nearly 80 to 90 per cent of the expenditure on these small irrigation projects, the amount made available for this purpose will be very much more than would otherwise be the case. I am hoping that this voluntary labour will be coming forth in an abundant measure to make these projects not only successful but also more extensive than if they were to be carried out only with the help of the money made available.

Next to water, comes manure. This may be either chemical or organic or rather a combination of both. For chemical manure, provision has been made for 108,000 tons of fertilizer in the Agreement with the T.C.A. This will be supplemented by supplies from the output of the Sindri Factory. But increasing attention will have to be paid to the optimum utilisation of compost and farmyard manure and other organic village manurial resources which have not so far been as fully exploited as they could be. Improved seeds and improved methods of cultivation with improved implements will also have to be made available to the cultivator for increasing the yield.

In all these directions, attempts will be made to utilise the results of scientific research. Hitherto, each Department of the State has approached the villager through its own hierarchy and the weakest link in each is the last official who has to be in touch with the villager. In order to get over this basic difficulty, the community development programme quite rightly lays a great deal of emphasis on the setting up of an organisation for intensive rural work similar in conception to the "extension" or "advisory" services in the United States of America, the United Kingdom and elsewhere. The basic idea is that at the project headquarters, there will be experts in agriculture and animal husbandry, co-operation, agricultural engineering, etc., and for a group of villages, there would be a village level worker or *Gram Sevak* who will have a basic training in agricultural science and animal husbandry supplemented by intensive training in extension methods and practices. He will be the carrier of the message to the door of the villager and will thus form the pivot of the scheme of develop-

ment in these areas. He will be a multi-purpose man and his work will not be conceived or executed along narrow departmental lines, but will be intended to inspire the people and enlist their enthusiasm for a fuller life and for earning the wherewithal for it.

No scheme of agricultural development can succeed unless adequate facilities are provided for agricultural finance. These are of two kinds: (1) long and medium term, and (2) short term. For the long and medium term loans required for financing minor irrigation works or land reclamation, there is a provision in the Community Development budget although it is necessarily of a modest nature. For the short term loans, no provision has been made and here the success of all these efforts will depend on the growth of a healthy co-operative movement. The workers in the project areas must therefore aim at the early establishment of a multi-purpose co-operative society in every village or group of villages. In addition to providing for the short-term credit needs of the people, such co-operative societies will act as an educative agency of very great value and will also assist the villagers in supplementing the small amount of money which is now being made available for rural development. The co-operative credit societies which have been tried on an extensive scale in the country have not given as good results as one would have wished and it is, therefore, necessary to be careful and cautious in their handling and it is to be hoped that their multi-purpose nature will make it possible for them to function in a more satisfactory manner and meet the various needs of village life.

A project area consists on an average of 200,000 people, which means approximately 50,000 employable adult male workers. Owing to seasonal conditions, work in agriculture is carried out only for a fraction of the year. In over four-fifth part of the country, where there are no irrigation facilities, this period is three to four months in the year. Even in areas where irrigation facilities exist, the working period is no more than six to eight months in the year. It will, therefore, be safe to assume that 50,000 workers in the project area have, on an average, about half the year as idle time on their hands. This reveals the dimensions of unemployment and under-employment in the countryside and unless this time is fully utilised, the work of village uplift will remain incomplete. The nature of agricultural work is such that this spare time is not available in a continuous stream, but is broken up in little bits.

It can be utilised only if alternative occupations such as village and cottage industries are provided which will not require continuous operation but could be interrupted and taken up again without imposing any serious dislocation or loss. My hope is that along with the work of agricultural improvement, this side of the problem will also be given due attention, so that the time which is now wasted perforce might be utilised. If even a quarter of this idle time could be harnessed for voluntary effort or self-help programmes, the contribution which the village people would be making through their efforts will be able to provide an amount equal to the provision made in the community development programme.

Full development of a community cannot be achieved without a strong educational base and without a satisfactory health programme. I am glad to find that in the field of education, emphasis has been laid on the expansion of basic educational facilities. The health organisation of the project area will consist of primary health units and a secondary health unit equipped with a hospital and a mobile dispensary at the headquarters of the project for serving the area as a whole. It is to be hoped that it will be possible to expand these educational and health facilities as the economic condition of the people living in the project area improves as a result of these developmental activities and there is an all-round improvement in agriculture and village and cottage industries resulting in a general rise in the economic condition of the people.

The work ahead is difficult. A small beginning is being made. If we make a sincere effort, the small seed which we are sowing today will grow into a huge and mighty tree in course of time. I, therefore, appeal to all, whether directly connected with the execution of this programme or not, to make their contribution to this effort and make it a success. Those areas which have been selected for these projects should consider themselves fortunate, but they should also realise their responsibility because on their success depends the future expansion and extension of these projects. The Government help as also the aid generously given by the U.S.A., will undoubtedly go a long way, but there is no doubt that unless the people take up this work as their own and put their heart into it, with a determination to make it successful, the result cannot be satisfactory. It has, therefore, to be taken up in a spirit

of service and with enthusiasm. Mahatma Gandhi used to look upon all work for the common benefit as *yajna* and it is in this spirit of *yajna* that the work has to be undertaken and accomplished. I can only hope and pray that the Government and the people will work hand in hand in this mighty effort.

AN IMPORTANT RAIL LINK*

This is my first official visit to this part of the country, and I am glad that the occasion for it has been provided by the completion of one of the major railway constructions which our National Government have undertaken after Independence. Kandla Port, and the Kandla-Gandhidham-Deesa Railway, meant to connect the port with the main system of Indian Railways, are parts of an important development scheme planned for Cutch and its neighbourhood. I am sure that when all these projects come into effective operation, they will assist the industrial future of this part of the country and ensure the material prosperity of its people.

Ports are important gateways of commerce and their development brings to the areas they serve an accelerated pace of economic activity. The history of the remarkable industrial progress of the areas around Bombay and Calcutta indicates the character of the contribution which a port is expected to render to its hinterland region. The commerce that a port helps to promote provides not only gainful employment to thousands of people, but it also encourages and fosters various subsidiary industries. The essential condition behind such constructive development is the existence of economical and efficient transport facilities between the port and the areas between which traffic tends to flow. So far as Kandla is concerned, this condition will be met by the construction of the Kandla-Gandhidham-Deesa Rail Link. This is an important

* Speech on the occasion of the opening of the Kandla-Gandhidham-Deesa Railway, at Gandhidham, 2 October, 1952.

achievement indeed as Cutch is being connected for the first time by rail with the metre gauge railway system in the mainland. I have no doubt that Kandla can look forward to the same prospect of development as the older major ports have had.

The construction of this railway is no mean achievement. Within a period of less than three years from the commencement of the work, a length of 170 miles has been completed. It has been constructed entirely by Indian officers and men. It is a matter for gratification that our Railway Administration has, during the last five years since the attainment of Independence, succeeded not only in repairing and rehabilitating our railways which had suffered so extensively and so grievously during the war, but also in building the Assam Rail Link in the north-east and the Kandla-Gandhidham-Deesa Link in the west in spite of the tremendous difficulties which it has had to face, and I tender to it my most cordial congratulations on these great achievements.

I welcome the new schemes promoted in Cutch, particularly for the reason that it has not so far shared equally in the industrial and economic progress of the country, and many of its enterprising sons and daughters have found it necessary to utilise their talents elsewhere in the country. If our political independence is to have a real meaning, it must be translated into economic terms. There has to come about a general levelling up of economically less advanced parts of the country. The geographical situation and lack of proper communications have indeed contributed largely to the rather comparative isolation and backward conditions of Cutch. Another reason is to be found in the limited resources of Cutch itself. Parts of Cutch have occasionally been threatened by famine and draught, and want of communications has rendered it difficult to reach succour to the areas affected. The line will serve the vast hinterland of the new port extending as far as Kashmir, and including South Punjab, Rajasthan and Delhi, and even West U.P., which were previously served by Karachi. The area is reported to have large deposits of mineral wealth which await proper exploitation to the immediate advantage of Cutch and the larger interests of the country. I am also interested to note that there may be possibilities of land reclamation in the area covered by the 'Little Bann', which is watered by the Banas River. If this comes about, it will help to extend agriculture in this area, and thus increase the production of food in the country.

The plan of developing this part of India has given a fresh hope to the displaced persons who have now been resettled at Gandhidham, the new township that has been designed and is being developed according to modern standards of town planning. In Gandhidham, we have established a large colony of educationally advanced people who were obliged to migrate from Sind after Partition. This community brings to Cutch its resources of business ability, experience and judgment; and thus will help to make a substantial contribution to the development of trade and industrial expansion in Cutch. I acknowledge with gratitude the work done by the Corporation and trust the contribution of the residents of Gandhidham to the general development of this whole region will be equally great.

The planning of Gandhidham itself has been remarkable. Unlike the older port towns which have grown rather haphazardly, depending on the expansion of the ports themselves, the planning of Gandhidham has proceeded along with that of the new Kandla Port. The initiative here was taken by the Sindhi Resettlement Corporation and, with expert technical assistance and Government participation, the township is expected to provide for the social and cultural as well as the business requirements of the prospective population. There is generous provision for the needs of future expansion. I trust the Land Development Board, which now controls the construction work, will so develop the township as to make it a model town.

After what the Minister for Railways and Transport has told you, there is little more for me to add. I may point out, however, that political integration has rendered it possible for the finances and resources of the entire country to be deployed towards the development of areas which have been comparatively backward so long. Cutch need no longer feel isolated or backward. Its economic progress will be centred largely round Gandhidham and the pulsation of its activity will be reflected in the traffic handled here. I am glad to see that the Railway Board have planned the railway and the facilities for the public on a scale worthy of the prospective importance of Gandhidham and the development of Cutch. Nothing can be more appropriate than our meeting here today, the birthday anniversary of Gandhiji, for a function which completes an important stage in the development projects in Cutch. Gandhiji had given his blessings to the resettlement programme

here, and it was at his instance that the land was granted for founding the township.

I am indeed glad to participate in so important a function.

I now have much pleasure in declaring the Gandhidham-Deesa Railway line open.

COW IN INDIAN ECONOMY*

India maintains about 150 million cattle which constitute nearly a quarter of the world's total bovine population. It is thus one of the most important countries of the world from the point of view of cattle. These animals are of great social and economic value to India which is predominantly an agricultural country and 86 per cent of whose population lives on income from land. The bullock is the only motive power, available for operations like tillage, irrigation and carting of the land produce to the market. A large proportion of the human population is vegetarian to whom the only source of animal protein in their diets is milk and its products. It has been rightly said that the cow bears on her patient back the entire structure of Indian agriculture. In fact, the cow, from time immemorial, has been the centre of our economic structure and it still maintains that position in our life.

The average efficiency of our cattle, however, is largely, limited by the economic and environmental factors. Cattle rearing centres round the small cultivator to the large majority of whom live-stock raising is an occupation subsidiary to crop production. The cultivator is also poor and resourceless. He lives on small fragmented holdings and the average number of animals possessed by him is not more than two or three. Grazing is poor except during monsoons and the available feeds cannot sustain more than a half of the existing population. Marketing facilities are extremely inadequate. There is an all round shortage of good bulls of known breeding quality. The breeder is thus deprived of all

* Broadcast to the nation on *Gosamvardhan* Day, New Delhi, 26 October, 1952.

facilities and incentives to pay proper attention to his animals. The result is that the growth of Indian cattle is very slow and they take double the time for their maturity as compared to other countries. The interval between calvings is very long and wastage due to starvation and disease is very high. Thus the cattle population, on the whole, is of a low order of efficiency.

In India, the production of milk as well as the consumption of milk and milk products per head of the human population are probably the lowest in the world. According to the latest estimates the *per capita* consumption of milk is worked out to be 5.3 oz. per day. This may be compared with the *per capita* consumption of milk in some foreign countries—Australia 44.4 oz., Canada 56.8 oz., Denmark 40.3 oz., Great Britain 40.7 oz. and the United States of America 35.6 oz.

It is, however, a heartening fact that the present low production of our cows is not due to any intrinsic inability on her part to produce but due to unfavourable environmental conditions. Such experiments and investigations as have already been conducted, have revealed that Indian cattle do possess undoubted potentialities for development and that they respond readily to better methods of breeding and feeding.

The question of the development of cattle in India on an organised basis has been considered from time to time. It has been found that the main reason why the efforts of Government, as pursued now, do not bear full fruit in the production of high class stock is that the villager is not able to provide the conditions which Government are able to provide in their farms. The Key Village Scheme has, therefore, been sponsored recently. The immediate object of this scheme is to establish a network of key villages in suitable localities throughout the country where all the existing undesirable bulls will be removed and replaced by bulls of known quality. No scrubs will be allowed to work in any of these villages. This will enable the breeding part of the work to proceed satisfactorily. Once a key village is established, it is proposed that the other measures of cattle improvement such as better feeding, management and control of diseases would be introduced step by step.

The above is only one aspect of the development of cattle. As is well-known, though Indian cattle do possess potentialities of a high order, all cattle are not so. There is a good proportion which is diseased and decrepit. The problem of cattle develop-

ment in India, as elsewhere, is the problem of the segregation of the good from the bad and the prevention of the undesirables from further reproduction. A scheme for the starting of *Gosadans* or segregation camps, for the maintenance of old and unproductive cattle in interior forest areas has, therefore, been launched. It is considered that the unproductive cattle would advantageously be maintained on grazings which are not at present being fully utilised and where they might even prove useful for fertilising and developing the land. All male animals in these camps would be castrated and no further propagation would be allowed. In each camp arrangement would be made for *Charmalaya* Section, where the remains of the dead animals would be fully utilised.

In order to further co-ordinate all work connected with cattle development throughout the country, the Government of India have recently established the Central Council of *Gosamvardhana*. The functions of the Council include :—

- (a) To advise, co-ordinate and assist the State and Regional *Gaushala* Federations in matters relating to the development of *Gaushalas* and Pinjrapoles on proper lines.
- (b) To encourage the establishment of key village centres for the breeding of cattle on scientific lines and the starting of *Gosadans* for bovine cattle.
- (c) To take such measures as may be necessary to prevent the slaughter of useful and productive bovine cattle.
- (d) To take such other measures for *Gosamvardhana* as may be considered necessary from time to time.

In addition to the Government effort, there is a great deal of public enthusiasm in the country for the cow. It is estimated that there are about 3,000 *Gaushalas* and Pinjrapoles in India with a population of over six lakh heads of cattle which are being maintained at a cost of about seven crore of rupees per annum. In spite of many apparent drawbacks and handicaps from which these institutions are suffering, it has been noticed that, on the whole, these places, if organised on proper lines, could very well serve as useful centres for improvement of cattle and milk production and thus supplement Government effort in the improvement of cattle to a great extent. The financial resources of most of these institutions are ample. They have, in addition, public sympathy. What is needed, therefore, is just to put them on the right lines. The Central Council of *Gosamvardhana* has under consideration a

number of schemes for the reorganisation of these institutions on proper lines.

Today is the Day of *Gosamvardhana* and *Gopashtami* is being celebrated all over the country. Such celebrations have a great significance. Our ancestors fully realised the intimate bearing of the welfare of the cow on the prosperity of man and by fixing one particular day for this purpose, they intended to concentrate attention on the importance of the cow in our national economy. *Gopashtami* reminds us, how much we owe to the cow and her progeny. Let us fully appreciate the significance of this day and not observe it only formally as we sometimes do.

We should make it a day of dedication to the service of the cow which is and has been not only a poem of pity, in the words of Mahatma Gandhi, but also a giver of the nectar of life and dispenser of plenty to us. That service should not be merely sentimental as it very often is. Sentiment has to be associated with intelligence. Service to be effective and helpful has to be rendered in a way most suited to present-day conditions.

HUNDRED YEARS OF INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS*

We are lucky in having this centenary of the Posts and Telegraphs soon after having celebrated the centenary of the Indian Railways. It is on occasions like this that one gets an opportunity of looking back and assessing the past achievement and also planning for the future. It is indeed gratifying that these important occasions have synchronised with our Five-Year Plan. You will agree that correct stock-taking is the essential prerequisite of sound planning; and I do not think anything could make for sounder planning in the field of Posts and Telegraphs than the celebration of this Centenary and organising this exhibition.

* Inaugural speech at the Posts and Telegraphs Centenary Exhibition, New Delhi, 1 November, 1953.

In the context of scientific progress and amenities of modern life, we are accustomed to think of India as a young country. The fact that we became masters of our affairs at home only six years ago tends to confirm this impression. In reality, this impression is an illusion to allay which it will be necessary to know the facts about the growth and development of tele-communications in India.

One hundred years ago, telegraph lines began to radiate from Calcutta which was then India's capital. Actually, the beginning had been made in this direction 14 years earlier, in 1839, when an Englishman, Dr. O'Shaughnessy completed on his own and without official assistance, about 21 miles of telegraphic line proceeding from Calcutta in the direction of Diamond Harbour. It was, however, in 1851, that the first telegraph line to carry traffic was constructed between Calcutta and Diamond Harbour. The next two years may be said to be a period of experimentation. Towards the end of 1853, the experimental stage ended and country-wide expansion of telegraphic traffic was planned. The first line to be taken in hand was between Calcutta and Agra in November, 1853. Since then, our telegraph services have gone on expanding in all directions.

There are not many countries in the world which could trace back the history of their channels of communications so far back. From the very beginning these services were Government-owned, and it is now recognised that the Indian Posts and Telegraphs is the oldest Government-owned public utility in the world. It is a fact of which we can all be legitimately proud.

The great strides which the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department has made since the pre-Mutiny era would do credit to any Administration. Although it has been said that our British rulers did all this with an eye on their own interests, namely, to strengthen their hold on India, yet without going into the motives of its builders, we must admit that it was a development in the direction of progress and modernisation. In these hundred years, India has come to have the third longest telegraph channel mileage in the world: which gives it the sixth longest inland telegraph traffic. The highest line in the world is maintained by the Indian Telegraphs at Khambagong in Sikkim, which is 17,500 feet above the sea level.

Since Independence, great progress has been made in the field of Posts and Telegraphs. In this development, the village, and

not merely the city, was the target of concentration. Thousands of new post offices have been set up in the countryside, so that today every village with a population of 2,000 or above has a post office. The Communication Ministry's target is to bring the post office within three miles of every Indian, irrespective of the remoteness of his village.

In other fields, namely, those of telephone, wireless communication, etc., progress has been equally commendable. Telephone exchanges are being automatized so as to do away with manual exchanges. Automatic exchanges are already working in several places like Delhi, Bombay, Madras, etc. In Calcutta too it has started working. The next places to be taken up are Lucknow, Patna, Jaipur, Ajmer, Gwalior and Coimbatore. It is proposed to install high power wireless transmitters at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and New Delhi and strengthen the coastal wireless stations. The all-round expansion of the wireless network will cost Rs. 57 lakh. The Indian Telephone Industries factory at Bangalore has already started supplying automatic exchange equipment. A telephone cable factory is in the offing at Chittaranjan and a teleprinter factory is proposed to be set up soon.

This record of progress is indeed very satisfactory. Nevertheless, quite a lot has yet to be achieved. I am glad that the Posts and Telegraphs is conscious of this fact and does not propose to rest on its oars. It is concentrating on its Five-Year Plan, of which expansion and modernisation are the slogans. In the Plan, Rs. 48 crore are earmarked for capital outlay. The objectives of the Development Plan include the opening of a telegraph office in every town of 5,000 or more, in every sub-divisional headquarter and in every Thana or Police Station, irrespective of its size. Every district headquarter and every town of 30,000 or more will have a telephone exchange by 1956. Trunk facilities will be extended to every sub-divisional headquarter as well as to every town having a population of 20,000 or more. A large number of public call offices are to be opened. Lastly, the welfare of workers is a cardinal principle with the P. & T. Department. Their working conditions will be improved and a definite number of them will have been provided Government accommodation by 1956.

About the importance of modern communications nothing much need be said, for the telegraph, the telephone and the wireless which have annihilated time and distance, are the principal characteristics of the present age. In a country like ours, populated

by over 350 million people living in all kinds of snowy peaks, difficult forest-infested terrain and long stretches of sandy desert, in the ultimate analysis, modernised means of communication constitute real progress. The progress of Posts and Telegraphs is not, therefore, a matter of mere departmental interest but something which concerns every Indian, nay which touches the very working of democracy in this vast land.

It is, therefore, no small pleasure for me to be associated with this centenary of Posts and Telegraphs. I send my greetings and congratulations to all those who man this second largest national undertaking, particularly men of the lower grades on whom devolves the duty of 'delivering the goods', not merely in the metaphorical sense but in the literal sense of delivering telegrams, letters and other postal articles.

I have great pleasure in declaring open the Telegraphs Centenary Exhibition.

IMPORTANCE OF AUDIT IN DEMOCRATIC SET-UP*

I am very happy indeed to be able to come here to lay the foundation-stone of this office in response to the kind invitation of Shri Narahari Rao, Comptroller and Auditor-General of India. So far, this important Office was not housed in any separate building and it was looked upon generally as another wing of the Accountant-General's Office. According to our Constitution, the Office of the Comptroller and Auditor-General has an independent status and some special powers have been vested in it. Although, for purposes of affiliation, this Office falls under the Ministry of Finance, yet, like the Supreme Court and the Union Public Service Commission, it is a statutory body and as such has a status of its own. Our Constitution has guaranteed the independence of the Judiciary, with the

* Speech on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of the Office of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, Delhi, 21 July, 1954.

Supreme Court at the head, for preserving and protecting the rights as between individuals themselves and against the State. The Judiciary has also the power to declare a law invalid if in its opinion the Legislature has exceeded its powers. Similarly, the Office of the Comptroller and Auditor-General with its widespread organisation all over the country has the power to see that the money granted by the Legislature to the Executive is spent for the purposes meant and that the accounts are maintained in a proper and efficient manner. He has the power to call to account any officer, however highly placed, so far as the State money is concerned.

I consider it, therefore, not only appropriate but necessary that the Office of the Comptroller and Auditor-General should be provided with all the necessary facilities to enable it to function in a way calculated to ensure the discharge of the duties allocated to it in the best manner possible. In a country like ours where huge amounts are allocated to different Ministries and to the various offices attached to them, it is of the highest importance that a proper check is maintained on expenditure and that the funds drawn by various Government departments are not in excess of the appropriations.

In a democratic set-up involving allocation of hundreds of crore of rupees, the importance of this kind of scrutiny and check can never be over-emphasized, particularly at the present moment when the Government is incurring a huge expenditure on so many welfare projects. Apart from these, the Government has of late been taking up industrial undertakings on its hands and these have to be worked on purely business lines. It is essential that every rupee that we spend on all these is properly accounted for. This important task—I am afraid, a task not always very pleasant—devolves upon the Comptroller and Auditor-General and his Office. In accordance with the powers vested in him, he has to carry out these functions without fear or favour in the larger interests of the nation.

For years, we have had a combined Audit and Accounts Department which, besides being responsible for the audit of all the financial transactions, was also responsible for obtaining the accounts from various departmental authorities receiving, spending or disbursing Government money. This was not considered a very satisfactory or proper arrangement. It was thought that the responsibility for the maintenance of accounts should be entrusted to the Administrations themselves, which, I am told, is done in most of the progressive countries, and the Auditor-General should be left with the responsibility only for the audit of the accounts in his

capacity as Comptroller-General. The Government of India has accepted in principle the separation of audit from accounts. Before long, I hope, the Government's decision to separate these two functions will be implemented. Let me further hope that the provision of a separate building for the Office of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India will constitute the first important step towards the achievement of that objective.

Before laying the foundation-stone of the building, I would like to express my appreciation of the work done by Shri Narahari Rao, India's first Comptroller and Auditor-General, and his office. Although we have had the advantage of a long established department with its method of work and tradition based on the British model, it was no easy task to adjust the existing machinery to the demands of the new set-up. That was particularly difficult in the case of the States created as a result of the integration of what used to be princely states, many of which had no such organisation. I am glad that not only has that problem been tackled, but the first incumbent of this high office has been able to create an atmosphere and tradition of independence, which is so necessary for the safeguarding of the interests of the tax-payer. I have no hesitation in saying that the retiring Comptroller and Auditor-General of India has earned the respect of the Indian Parliament by his impartial and independent observations as brought out in his annual reports. Free India has great value for these qualities, which I hope, will be emulated by all others, high or low, in the service of the State.

Once again I thank Shri Narahari Rao for asking me to lay the foundation-stone of the building of the Comptroller and Auditor-General's office.

GOLD MINING INDUSTRY*

It has given me great pleasure to have been able to visit the gold mines this morning. I have wandered about this country a great

* Reply to welcome address by the Board of Directors of the Kolar Gold Mining Companies, Kolar, 16 August, 1954.

deal and also visited this State on three previous occasions. But I have visited the gold mines for the first time this morning. You can, therefore, easily understand how happy I am to have seen many things which I did not see before. I had seen many mines, some of which operate in the State from which I come. There I had seen coal mines, copper mines, iron mines, mica mines, but I had not seen a gold mine because it does not exist elsewhere. So it was a matter of real pleasure that I came here and saw the working of the gold mines in your area.

In this country, Nature has endowed us with a great deal of wealth which is hidden in the bowels of the earth. We have not been able so far to get a correct and exact picture of what there is under the earth. The Government is engaged in setting up some sort of an organisation which will investigate and estimate our mineral resources. Work in this line has been going on but it is intended to intensify it so that we may go ahead in this direction. It is, therefore, a matter for congratulation that you are doing this kind of work and have been able to strike new fields which you consider to be quite satisfactory from the point of view of work and profit.

You have no reason to apprehend that the Government will do anything which will stand in the way of the development of this important industry. We are anxious to develop all our resources. It takes a little time for all Governments to make up their minds and especially when they have not all the necessary knowledge and information to enable them to form a correct decision on points. I understand a Committee has been appointed which is going to look into all the aspects of this question so far as these mines are concerned and I hope the recommendations of the Committee will be such as will help further progress and development of these industries. It is in the interest of the Government, it is in the interest of the workers, it is in the interest of the companies and above all, it is in the interest of the country at large that such an industry should not be allowed to suffer. I am hoping that all the experience which you have gained in the past so many years and the knowledge which has been acquired by the workers here will be utilised to the full by all concerned. As you have said, we have just one more small gold mine in this country. While we do not have information about the existence of other such mines in the country, these two mines cannot be ignored. Therefore, you may rest assured that the Government will do all that is

necessary and will not do anything which may stand in the way of their development.

It has given me great pleasure to go round the town which has grown up in this place which, you said, at one time was nothing but barren rocks. I have seen at Jamshedpur and probably there are several other places like this where on account of development of modern industries, townships have grown up and this is one of them, where there were jungles before. I think some of you might have seen Jamshedpur. Jamshedpur was nothing but dense jungle about 45 years ago. It was then very largely inhabited by wild elephants. In the same place, we have today the biggest city in the Province, and the biggest steel factory in Asia. It often happens that when one industry grows up in a particular place, other subsidiary industries grow up along with it. From the experience of Jamshedpur, I can say that you can also look forward to the development of other subsidiary industries in your area. There are at Jamshedpur, I think, more men employed in the subsidiary industries than in the main industry because whereas the main Iron & Steel Works is one factory which of course is a very big factory, there are large numbers of other industries round about the main factory and they all employ large numbers of workers. Our village folk, although simple and mostly uneducated, were able to pick up the technical work. I believe, that has been your experience also. A considerable proportion of the labour population here comes from the Madras Presidency and other local areas. The fact that the ordinary people are taking to modern industries gives us hope that our industries will prosper. For, once the problem of trained technicians is overcome, the problem of finding organising and directing skill will not present much difficulty. In any case, if necessary, we could get such specialised talent from outside.

We are anxious for the growth of all industries. I am sure you also realise that for the growth of industries it is necessary that our labour is contented and it feels secure. If that is borne in mind, I am sure, with your experience and skill, you have no reason to fear that this industry would close down for want of support or that this place will once again be inhabited by lizards and jackals (laughter). I am sure, God willing, it will continue to prosper.

I thank you all for the kindness shown to me and for taking me round and showing all the places. I am particularly thankful to the people who have come out in their thousands on the road-side to greet me.

POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS*

When I am asked to lay the foundation-stone of a building meant to house a public utility department such as the Posts and Telegraphs, my immediate reaction is to accept such an invitation. On such occasions I feel happy, partly because they provide me an opportunity of studying and familiarising myself with the systematic growth and development of a Government department over many past years, and partly because such an occasion is symbolic of the real progress of the department in question. The decisions to have adequate and the right type of office accommodation, and to make the necessary budgetary provision for the same, are necessarily important landmarks in the evolution and growth of a department.

When we think of the Posts and Telegraphs Department, a whole host of ideas and past associations rush up and jostle for expression. After the Indian Railways, it is the largest public utility service of the Government. In point of time, the postal and telegraph service may be described as the first nationalised undertaking of the Government, because it was as long back as 1837 that the Government assumed the sole right of conveyance of mail and made the establishment of post offices within the East India Company's territories necessary. Before that year, some kind of private postal system was in vogue. All this was banned in 1837, excepting a few services which ran under Government licence. As the Company's territories extended to cover the rest of the country, the whole of India came within the gamut of Government's postal service. The introduction of the Railways in 1853 put the conveyance of mail on a proper footing. In fact, it marked the end of one epoch in the postal history of India and the beginning of another.

As I said, the Posts and Telegraphs Department is the second largest public utility service of the Government. Where the common man is concerned, no other Governmental activity functions as intimately and as extensively as this Department. The punctual postman going on his rounds all round the year, the long red-coloured letter box standing guard at a familiar corner in a village, the modest hut which serves as a post office—all these symbols have a peculiar meaning for everyone in an Indian village. From the

* Speech at the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the building for the Posts and Telegraphs Directorate and the Central Post Office, New Delhi, 17 September, 1954.

earliest times, postal service has been the most obvious Governmental activity in the remotest parts of India. The Government itself looked upon post offices, scattered all over the land, as something more than mere channels of communication. For many a useful activity which, it was desired should permeate the far-flung rural areas, post offices have generally been considered as the most suitable medium of operation. It was, I believe, for this reason that distribution of quinine was entrusted to post offices in the malaria-ridden countryside. The Postal Department can, therefore, claim to have a hand in winning the battle against malaria or at least in the fight against that disease.

The functions of the Posts and Telegraphs Department are many and varied. Apart from its primary responsibility of providing channels for communication by road, rail, air and steamer or by the installation of telegraph offices and telephone exchanges, it functions as the agent of the Government to help the public invest their money in National Savings Certificates; it offers facilities for life insurance, though on a limited scale; it provides banking facilities and thus encourages a sense of thrift among the public.

Although conveyance of post was undertaken as a Government monopoly in 1837, it was in 1925 that the Department was commercialised. Till 1947, the year of our Independence, its expansion and progress had been slow, though quite steady. I am glad to say that since Independence, the Department has taken long strides in its determination to provide each village with proper communication facilities. Over 25,000 post offices have been opened since August, 1947, as compared with 20,240 which were already in existence in undivided India. This increase in the number of post offices, stupendous as it is, gives, I believe, an idea of the progress that the Posts and Telegraphs Department has made during the last seven years. At present, every village with a population of two thousand or more has been provided with a post office. No wonder that the number of letter boxes has also gone up by about 130 per cent. Apart from this quantitative expansion in all directions, a good deal of progress has also been made in reducing the time-lag and otherwise improving the general service for the benefit of the public.

Whenever an occasion for a general review of national progress during the years of Freedom has arisen, I have heard our telecommunication services being mentioned prominently. I would like to congratulate the Ministry of Communications and the P. & T.

Directorate for the amount of goodwill and appreciation they have earned for themselves. The "All Up" Air mail scheme, constituting as it does a unique landmark in the history of mail communications in India; the institution of mobile post offices in urban areas; the novel 'Own Your Phone' scheme, and the contribution that the Posts and Telegraphs Department has made in popularising the national language—these are some of the things which have been greatly appreciated by the public.

Expansion of the postal and tele-communication services in the rural areas is the main item in the Five Year Plan, so far as your Department is concerned. I am glad to say that you have, wherever necessary, modified your policy for implementing the Plan. Post offices are being opened in headquarters of administrative units. Tehsils, Talukas or Thanas, if the anticipated loss does not exceed Rs. 750/-, per annum per post office. In the backward areas and the Community Project Centres, the limit of permissible loss has been raised still higher. That is as it should be. Let us not forget that people in the rural areas have long been without adequate amenities of this kind. They are the backbone of the Indian nation and no reform or progressive measure which leaves them untouched can be described as national. Every effort has, therefore, to be made to provide our rural areas with proper communication facilities even if, for the present, it means more investment or liberalisation of conditions which govern the working of your Department.

It is about a year since the Posts and Telegraphs Department celebrated the centenary of telegraphs in India. In a couple of weeks' time, the Department will be celebrating the centenary of the postage stamp. For this occasion, an International Exhibition has been arranged in which good many countries of the world will be participating. I take it that it is a fitting tribute to the place that India now occupies in the field of postal and telegraph communications.

The Posts and Telegraphs Directorate, which is at present spread out in different buildings, will be accommodated in the proposed building, which would be sufficiently big to house its various offices. I am sure this will further enhance the efficiency of the Directorate. The location of your main office and the New Delhi G.P.O. in the vicinity of the Central Secretariat should also mean an additional advantage to you as well as to the public.

Before closing, I wish to add that while there is much of

which the Department can legitimately feel proud and while it has a great achievement to its credit, you cannot afford to rest on your oars. As your work has expanded, more demands are being made on your activity and efficiency. I hope you are not unconscious of the criticism which is sometimes levelled against your Department. You should see that the standard of efficiency and integrity is not reduced but enhanced by the expansion. Your Department will have served the country well if it can maintain and enhance its own reputation of the past.

Once again I would like to express my appreciation of the work of the Posts and Telegraphs Department. Let me hope every additional amenity which the Department gets, will mean more efficient working and greater facilities for the public to whose needs it caters. I wish your Department a still more fruitful career of public service in the interests of the people and the interests of national unity, in the fostering and maintenance of which communications always play an important role.

THE PROBLEM OF HOUSING*

I am thankful to the organizers of this International Exhibition on Low-Cost Housing for inviting me to inaugurate it. This exhibition, perhaps the first of its kind, focuses attention on one of the most pressing problems of today, the problem of housing. There is shortage of houses everywhere. Nearly all the countries of the world today are faced with the problem of constructing more and more houses to cope with the increasing demand. A reasonably comfortable house, providing shelter against the inclemencies of weather and affording room for necessary rest and leisure, is an elementary need of mankind. It is clear that if the present need is to be met to any reasonable extent, houses will have to be built on a huge scale. This is possible only if the cost of

* Inaugural speech at the International Exhibition on Low-cost Housing, New Delhi, 11 November, 1954.

construction and of materials for building a house is brought down to a level which would be within the reach of a person of average means. It is, therefore, appropriate that this exhibition should be called an exhibition on low-cost housing.

Generally speaking, housing sounds like an abstract idea although houses are made of such substantial material as brick and mortar! I believe one great contribution of this International Exhibition will be to bring the problem of housing into the region of the concrete. The many exhibits displayed here are its unmistakable proof. You will agree that when it comes to bringing together, in a practical way, the existing knowledge on house-building and design, and to translating that knowledge into actual houses, this change in outlook would necessarily represent a great advance over the present position. This exhibition will provide a forum to professional men to exchange ideas and enable them to see the methods which have already passed the test or are still engaging the attention of planners, engineers and architects. To the layman, who is in need of a house this exhibition is bound to provide a goodly choice to select from. This choice will be real in so far as every house exhibited in this exhibition costs less than Rs. 5,000/-. Besides demonstrating the various types of houses built from different materials, this exhibition will also stimulate proper interest in housing—not in the abstract problem of housing as such which might be an alluring subject of discussion for academicians and economists, but in houses themselves, houses promising roofs on top and cosy shelter within. It is from this point of view that this exhibition is to be welcomed by all those interested in the welfare and comfort of man.

I particularly welcome the broad auspices under which this exhibition has been arranged. As the problem of housing is common to all countries, and human beings all over the world need houses to live in, it is only proper that such a venture should take the shape of an international forum for the common good of all. I am told, exhibits have been received from many foreign countries, including Burma, Ceylon, Australia, Finland, Germany, Austria, Indonesia, Israel, Singapore, Thailand, Sweden, Italy, the Fiji Islands and the United Kingdom. By convening an international Seminar on housing under the auspices of the United Nations Technical Administration, this exhibition has not merely added to its status but greatly widened its scope. This Seminar, in which experienced architects and engineers from many

countries are participating, will discuss such important subjects as improvement in building materials, construction methods and programmes for housing, etc. This will be followed by discussions by the Inter-Secretariat Working Party of the ECAFE which is meeting in Delhi this month. As a result of all these discussions and valuable exchange of ideas, let us hope it will be possible to pool the experiences of the participating countries and adopt models which would result in bringing cheap and comfortable houses within the reach of the common people.

As I have said, a house is one of man's elementary needs. Ever since the dawn of civilization or may be even before that, when man, like beasts of prey, lived in the open, the need of some kind of shelter was felt by him. There was a time when the improvised shelter proffered by bushes and trees satisfied his need. In places where trees did not grow, a subterranean hideout or a cave or the shade of any projecting cliff answered his simple requirements. As time passed and man learnt to manipulate the twigs and branches of trees, he found leafy huts rendering better service to him. Gradually, he began to thatch and plaster these huts with mud. And so man went on progressing, improving upon his craftsmanship and selecting better and better building material, till he found himself capable of raising such gigantic structures as the Pyramids of Egypt. Although throughout this long stretch of time, known to us as the Historic Era, man has been familiar with the art of construction and has been responsible for raising structures of all kinds and sizes, the need of the common people did not receive the attention which it deserved. It is at once the duty and the privilege of us all, living in this democratic age, to think of housing and houses in terms of the needs of the common people. Therefore, I think that this exhibition adds a new chapter to our endeavours for housing the people properly. Here you will consider houses not only from the point of view of mere living space, but in respect of design and from the aesthetic point of view as well. As Bacon said: "Houses are built to live in more than to look at; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had". I hope that you will combine utility with beauty.

Another thing in this exhibition which has specially attracted me is its Village Centre. In this Centre are exhibited houses specially useful for the Indian villagers. That a vast majority of India's population lives in villages is a fact which needs no

emphasis. Unless, therefore, we base the principles on which we are building houses on the pattern of our village life, and the special requirements of the country people, our efforts in respect of providing adequate housing facilities will remain abortive. We shall have achieved a great deal if we succeeded in demonstrating how a village might be replanned and how the village-folk might live in houses constructed with locally available materials with the help of their own labour at an expenditure within their means. Let me hope efforts will be made to attract people from the neighbouring villages at least so that they might come and visit this exhibition.

Another important gain which I expect from this exhibition is that it would throw more light on the use of various building materials available in this country. Wisely enough, you have set apart a separate section dealing with building materials. With our limited resources in money and material, we have to go ahead with our plans to increase the national stock of housing. That is possible only if we devise ways and means of putting the easily available materials to the maximum use. Incidentally, that is also the best way of ensuring that the cost is kept as low as possible. The Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, and the Indian Institute of Technology at Kharagpur have been carrying on researches in this direction for some years past. The Indian Council of Scientific and Industrial Research has also recently opened for this purpose the Central Building Research Institute at Roorke, where all these researches will now be co-ordinated and centralized and turned to practical use. All this points to the necessity of discovering cheaper building materials and evolving new building techniques so that the materials locally available are put to the best possible use, and the shortage of any particular material is not allowed to hamper our building programme. Besides, utilizing of locally available material not only saves cost of construction but also reduces the pressure on our transport system. When considering the utility of local materials, we should also bear in mind that all our old buildings and structures that have stood the strain of time and successfully resisted the inclemencies of weather in this country of varied and varying climatic conditions, were made with those materials and some of them at least are even now available.

People of this country, in some parts of which the shortage of housing is somewhat acute, will be looking forward with

eagerness to the outcome of this exhibition and your deliberations. Let me hope that as a result of your efforts, house-building receives the much-needed incentive and more people are able to own, or at least plan, their own houses.

I wish this unique venture all success and have great pleasure in declaring the Exhibition open.

FORESTS IN A NATION'S LIFE*

I feel it a great honour to inaugurate this memorable session of the World Forestry Congress. For the first time, it is meeting outside Europe in an eastern country. The importance of the occasion is heightened by the fact that it is combined with the first session of the World Tropical Silvicultural Congress. It is fitting that the first of what I hope may be a regular series of Tropical Silvicultural Congresses should be held in India, which has been working in this difficult field of forestry for close on a century. I am, therefore, happy that the offer of the Government of India to undertake responsibility for holding the Fourth World Forestry Congress was accepted by the Food and Agriculture Organisation. That Organisation has extended its full co-operation in the difficult task of organising the Congress, for which we are deeply grateful.

I believe we have here today as representative a gathering of world foresters and technicians connected with wood-based industries as has ever assembled in any place before. Delegates from fifty-one countries and representatives of a number of organisations such as the Food and Agriculture Organisation, UNESCO and I.L.O., are present at this inaugural session. It is a matter of gratification that even countries which are not members of the F.A.O. have considered the Congress important enough to send strong delegations to participate in its discussions. In the name of India, I extend to

* Inaugural speech at the Fourth World Forestry Congress, Dehra Dun, 11 December, 1954.

all the members of the Congress a most cordial welcome. Many of them have taken part in the excursions which were organised in the different parts of the country. I hope they have been able to see something of our forestry activities and of the art and culture of this ancient land.

It is appropriate, I think, that the Congress meets at Dehra Dun which is universally recognised as the headquarters of Indian forestry. The Forest Research Institute in whose Convocation Hall we are assembled today is one of the oldest institutions of research and education in the country, dating back as it does to 1878 when it started as a modest school for training forest rangers. During the three quarters of a century of its existence, it has played a leading part in the development of Indian forestry. I believe its work is not unknown in international forestry circles. As one who was at one time closely associated with the work of the Institute in my capacity as Minister of Agriculture, I share the pride and satisfaction which the members of its staff feel in having the session of the Fourth World Forestry Congress on its premises.

I observe that the Congress has a comprehensive agenda before it and I note with satisfaction that Tropical Forestry figures prominently in it. The discussions will no doubt be of a technical nature, but if the recommendations which emerge from the discussions are to be fruitful, they must inevitably take note of administrative, budgetary and social considerations. Forestry is not an end in itself. As an aspect of land utilization, its value and significance are exactly in proportion to the sustained contribution it makes to human welfare, tangibly and directly through the produce that comes out of the forest and subtly and indirectly by protecting the soil and conditioning the climate, thereby sustaining the physical bases of life. Forests also provide a refuge and home for wild life. In the end they have a great recreational and aesthetic value. In India the forest are closely bound up with our religious and spiritual heritage. Whatever function the forests perform, the touchstone and measure of their value should be human satisfaction.

Wood is essential for human life as fuel, as a versatile structural material, and as raw material of many products which are indispensable to modern life. Forests are efficient agents for soil conservation, for flood control and for stream flow maintenance.

In principle, it should not be difficult for any country to work out the proportion that forests should occupy in its territory and the manner in which they should be distributed so that they may yield in full their productive and protective values. But hardly in any country would it be possible to secure a logically desirable and theoretically correct allocation of land to agriculture, pasture and forestry, because one is not planning on a clean slate so to say. In an ancient country like India, the pressure of the human and cattle population on the soil makes the problem of obtaining sufficient land under forest, one of peculiar difficulty. An approach to the target fixed can often be made by afforesting waste lands by rehabilitation of derelict woodlands, and by encouraging village forestry. There are, however, limits to what can be done in these directions. Every country has to strike a balance between the competitive claims of agriculture, animal husbandry and forestry for use of the land for productive purposes and this balance must in the last resort be based on considerations of what is practically possible in a given set of conditions rather than on what may be theoretically desirable. In the older countries, it may happen that the area under forest *plus* the area available for afforestation is less than what is considered the desirable minimum.

It is precisely these conditions of shortage that provide the spur for intensive management and utilization of forests. They hold out a challenge to the forester to develop his forest so as to produce on a sustained basis the maximum possible yield, to transform it so as to increase its value as a productive unit and its efficiency as a protective agent, to prevent loss by fire, disease and maltreatment and to avoid waste in felling, extraction and storage. Likewise, they hold out a challenge to the research worker and the technician to devise methods and processes for improving the utility, life and technical properties of inferior woods, so that species which are now left to rot in the forests as worthless may be put to economic use and so help to meet the timber deficit.

We are fortunate in India in that some of the finest woods in the world grow in our forests. Teak, sandalwood, rosewood, padauk, gurjan are commodities of international commerce. But these species grow in tropical forests with a multitude of other species having much lower economic value and they present serious problems of regeneration and management. To what extent is

it safe or wise to increase the proportion of species of high value by artificial means? What are the steps to be taken to create a market for the secondary species in a mixed tropical forest, which are in poor demand? These and a host of other questions connected with silviculture and management of tropical forests will no doubt engage the attention of the Congress. Its recommendations will be awaited with great interest.

The Government of India had declared its forest policy as long ago as 1894. This was probably the earliest formal statement of the broad principles that should govern the administration of forests ever made by any country. This policy worked well on the whole, but two world wars followed by the advent of independence had made it out of date. A revised statement of forest policy more in consonance with the altered status and conditions in the country was issued by the Government of India in 1952.

In forestry, as in every field of national activity, we in India are on the threshold of a stupendous effort of national reconstruction, under our First Five Year Plan. The first steps have necessarily to be slow, but already substantial progress has been made. The old princely States, which occupied a third of the country have been merged with the old provinces or integrated into new democratic States. In most of these new States, the Forest Department occupies a position of importance and is faced with difficult tasks of organisation and development. In several States, private forests have been resumed by the Government as a result of the abolition of zamindari and jagirdari. In States where private forests continue to exist, their management has been brought under a measure of control by the Forest Department. In a democratic State, the successful pursuit of forestry, extending as it does so largely in time and space, is dependent on the goodwill of the people. Popular enthusiasm for tree planting and support for forest policy is being evoked by our annual 'Vana Mahotsava' and by a campaign of education and propaganda. Forestry has a great role to play in the agricultural and industrial regeneration of India. I am confident that the deliberations of this World Forestry Congress will point the way to fuller and more intensive development of the world's forests, especially of its tropical forests.

I wish the Congress godspeed and hope that the members will have a pleasant and profitable sojourn in Dehra Dun.

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH*

I consider it a privilege to have been asked to open this Exhibition organised by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research in commemoration of its Silver Jubilee. Apart from the fact that I have been the Council's President for about two years in the past and, therefore, feel somewhat attached to it, its work and achievements are of the utmost importance on their own merit. India is primarily an agricultural country. Agriculture and allied callings provide occupation to about 70 per cent of our people. The improvement of agriculture in the widest sense—the task with which your Council is charged—is, therefore, the only way of bringing joy and happiness to the masses of this country.

Since its establishment in 1929 as a result of the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, the history and steady growth of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research epitomise the general improvement in Indian agriculture. Although India is one of the oldest nations devoted to farming and agriculture and her knowledge and experience in practical agriculture in all kinds of soil, climate and season extend to centuries, yet modern requirements call for improvements in old methods if cultivation of land has to be a profitable occupation and if it has to serve the needs of a growing population. Having as I do some knowledge of our villagers and cultivators and the conditions prevailing among them, I make bold to say that our practices and past experiences form a solid basis for application of scientific research and scientific methods and I have no doubt the scientists working under the auspices of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research have not hesitated to utilise such experience to the full in their search for improved methods, instruments and other requirements of our agriculture. The need for research and improvement is obvious not only to enable us to keep pace with our growing demand and to meet the competition with other countries on equal terms, but also—and indeed more so—to keep the wolf of hunger away from our door.

We have known the pinch of shortage of foodgrains in recent years. It may not have been due entirely to deficiencies in our

* Speech at the Silver Jubilee Exhibition of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi, 14 December, 1954.

agricultural system, but the broad fact of shortage had to be faced and grappled with by the nation. If we have tided over the crisis and cleared the way for achieving self-sufficiency, your Council could legitimately claim some credit for it. Its useful researches and the dissemination of their results for practical application by tillers of the soil, were an important factor in our war on the food front. On this occasion, I would also like to pay my tribute to the late Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai who by his administrative ability and indefatigable efforts carried the work of not only this Council but of all the wings of the Food and Agriculture Ministry to the happy consummation of self-sufficiency in respect of foodgrains.

Scientific research with a view to improving agriculture and increasing production is undoubtedly our primary need, but mere research, howsoever original or full of potential benefit it may be, cannot advance the cause of agriculture unless we can manage to take it to the farm of the cultivator. Assimilation by him of the results of researches, so that he might utilize them to advantage in his actual day-to-day work, is of the utmost importance. There is a general belief among some people that our agriculturists are extremely conservative and cannot easily be induced to change their habits and practices. I am sure your experiences will coincide with mine that such conservatism as exists among them is based on reason. We know that the Indian agriculturist has not hesitated to adopt new varieties of sugarcane and wheat, and the very recent experience regarding the Japanese method of paddy cultivation shows that all he needs is to be convinced about the superiority of the new variety or method before he adopts it.

I am glad that realising this fact, your Council has organised an agricultural information service in order to communicate to the farmer as quickly as possible the various results of research. Efforts are being made, I understand, for maintaining close contact with village level workers. I know this is an uphill task in our country because a large majority of the cultivators are illiterate. In order to explain things to them a suitable medium has to be evolved as a substitute for the written word.

I shall next refer to agricultural education and the extension programme taken up by the Council. Both these activities are, in a way, allied to the dissemination of information necessary for effecting the desired improvement in agriculture. Nevertheless, these two functions are of such fundamental importance that they can well be treated as separate items of the Councils work. I

am glad it has actually done so and made some progress in giving an agricultural bias to education in rural areas and also in popularising the extension programme. I take it that because of this bias, elementary agriculture is now finding a place in the curriculum of schools in several States. As for the extension programme, its importance and magnitude have been recognised by the Government, who have since set up a separate administration to tackle it, namely, the Community Projects Administration.

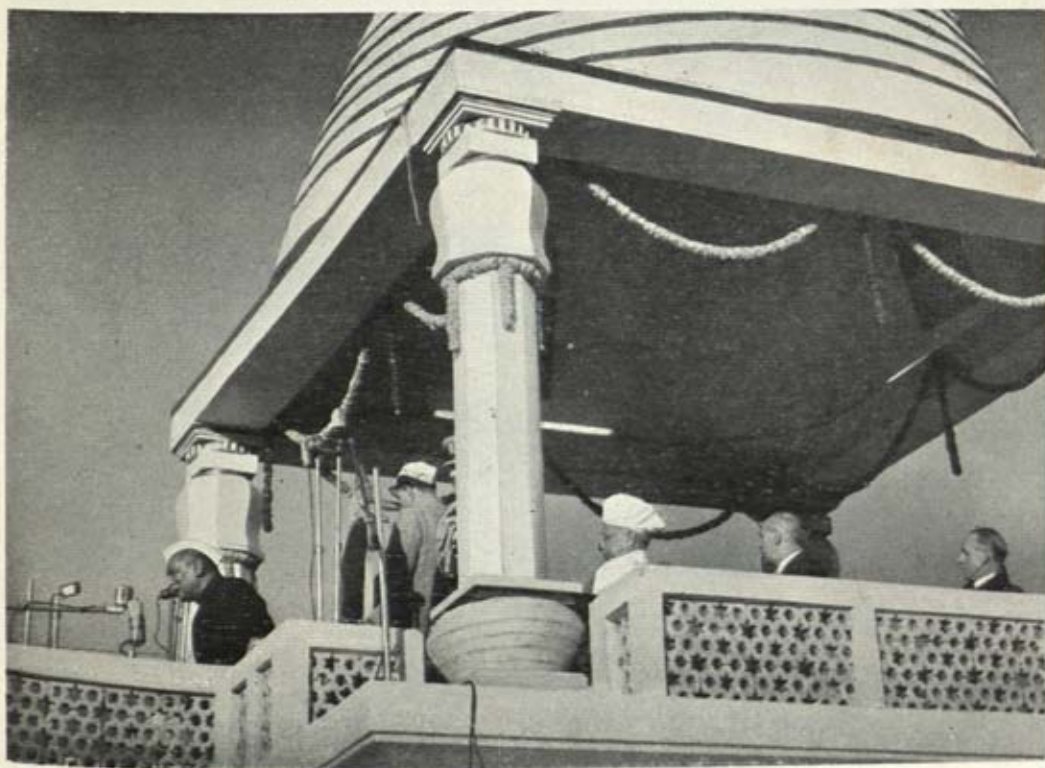
The Indian Council of Agricultural Research, which is thus working in four separate but closely knit wings, namely, research, extension, agricultural education and agricultural information, has done yeoman's service to Indian agriculture. As Shri A. P. Jain has said, there is hardly a branch of agriculture and animal husbandry which has not benefited from its work in the laboratory and outside it. It is my conviction that agriculture is that branch of human activity in this country which affects the largest number of people and any improvement in it is bound to make for the joy and happiness of our masses. Since your Council deals with this subject of vital importance, it is clear that it shoulders a heavy responsibility. I am sure your many workers have fully realised this fact and feel a sense of pride in having been called upon to give their best in the service of a cause which has such a vital bearing on the prosperity and well-being of the Nation.

This Exhibition, I am sure, will offer to the public the much-needed education on the importance of agriculture and animal husbandry in the lives of the Indian people. You have taken pains to explain the working of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, its problems and the results so far achieved by it in simple language so that the lay visitor as much as the scientist may feel interested in the Exhibition. I hope arrangements will also be made to carry this Exhibition in some form to our rural areas and the various exhibits explained to the villagers. It should be of great practical value and besides being instructive should also prove a source of recreation to them.

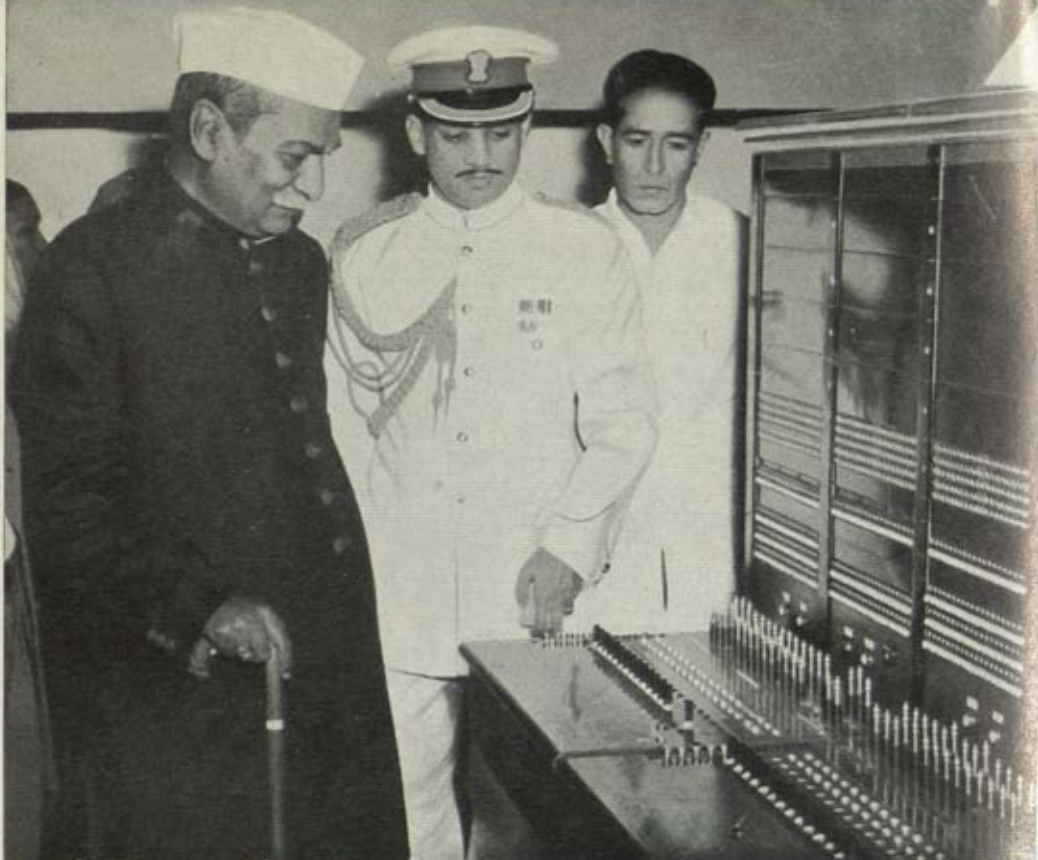
Before declaring this Exhibition open, let me congratulate the Indian Council of Agricultural Research on its completing 25 years of useful activity and service to the Nation. I fervently hope that it will continue to grow from strength to strength and come to be recognised not only as the spearhead of scientific and modern agriculture but also as the guide and friend of the agriculturist.



Inaugurating the Bhoodan Pada Yatra at Cape Comorin



Addressing a public meeting held at the Ramlila Grounds, Delhi, in celebration of the 2500th anniversary of the Mahaparinirvana of Lord Buddha



At the Posts and Telegraphs Centenary Exhibition at New Delhi



Inaugurating the centenary celebrations of the Ganga Canal at Hardwar



Inaugurating the ninth annual meeting of the Indian Society of Agricultural Statistics at New Delhi



Inaugurating the Second National Convention of Farmers at Talkatora Gardens, New Delhi



Conferring the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on Sardar K. M. Pannikar, at a special convocation of Delhi University

THE GANGA CANAL*

I am very happy to be present here today to inaugurate the centenary celebrations of the Ganga Canal, which is probably the oldest of the existing modern canals in India. The blessing that this canal has conferred on the people of this area by effecting increase in production and by ushering in an era of cheap electric power and all round prosperity has been great indeed. The canal has gone a long way in strengthening the popular and traditional belief in the usefulness of rivers.

In this country, rivers have always been assigned a place of great importance. They are looked upon as one of the sources of water for purposes of irrigation and as a possible means of transport. Modern science has added a few more to the old list of uses, the principal amongst them being the generation of electricity from waterfalls.

We have today in this country a network of canals and I am told that India has the second largest irrigated acreage in the world. That this remarkable system of canals should have been started in this country with the building of the Ganga Canal is a fact full of significance for our people. This holy river, round which is woven a large part of the fabric of Indian mythology and which up to this day dominates Indian literature and our social and religious customs, has a unique place in our history. Even in the hoary past, the Ganga was looked upon as a source of purification and the giver of boons and bounties. If, therefore, it has actually proved to be a source of prosperity for a considerable part of the biggest State in the Indian Union, we might take it as a case of mythology showing the lamp to history. Howsoever accidental, this fact is bound to be of considerable interest for all of us.

It might be asked as to why it should be necessary to look back and celebrate an event like this. To raise this question is to falsify human nature and to deny to man what might well be for him a fount of inspiration. Apart from the fact that it is necessary to take stock of a situation in the interest of continued progress, we often build on what we have achieved. You will agree with me that the Ganga Canal is a major achievement, both

* Inaugural speech at the Ganga Canal Centenary Celebrations at Hardwar, 10 December, 1954.

from the point of view of technology and of human happiness. Today, when this great achievement has completed hundred years of its life, it cannot but stir us up and stimulate our interest and imagination.

Today's function gives us an opportunity of expressing our gratitude to those engineers who built this project and whose persistent efforts have been responsible for its success. Let us remember today those foreigners, Col. Cautley and his associates, who accomplished this difficult task and whose perseverance gave us this canal, which became in course of time the nucleus of India's irrigation system, and also the Thomson Engineering College which has lately grown into an Engineering University. Free India acknowledges with a feeling of gratitude the valuable work done by those pioneers in the field of technology and engineering.

The report which the Chief Engineer has read out will also serve to give us an idea of the progress made in the expansion of irrigation facilities since India became independent. During the last seven years, this State has progressed at a rate which will surprise even the worst pessimist, and which ought to serve as a stimulus to many other States to emulate its achievements. As he has pointed out, the annual irrigated area from all irrigation works was 20 lakh acres in 1900. It developed to 60.24 lakh acres by 1946. Irrigated area in 1953-54 went up to 81 lakh acres as a result of the completion of many projects embracing gravity canals, tubewells, storage reservoirs and pumped canals. The objective of the First Five Year Plan is to raise this figure to 104 lakh acres. I would like to congratulate the State Government on this progress. I feel confident that the target fixed by the First Five-Year Plan is well within reach.

I am glad that the Government of your State, as also the Union Government, in laying stress on bigger projects, has not overlooked the need and utility of sponsoring and executing smaller projects for providing irrigation facilities at the earliest opportunity. As in other fields of human activity, in the sphere of irrigation also there is no incompatibility between big and small projects. As a matter of fact these are supplementary to each other. The fact that you have been able to add over two million acres to the irrigated area in your State within the short period of seven years, shows that you have kept this important factor in

view and have in actual fact given the same priority to smaller projects as to bigger ones.

May this canal and the river which feeds it bring greater prosperity to the people of this region so that they lead a happier and a contented life! May these centenary celebrations, stimulate the Government and the people of your State to still greater activity in the fields of reconstruction and human welfare! This is the prayer that comes from my heart today.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Ganga Canal Centenary Celebrations and congratulating every one who may have contributed his or her mite in making this function such a magnificent success.

THE MACHKUND HYDRO-ELECTRIC PROJECT*

It is so nice of the Government of Andhra to have asked me to inaugurate the Hydro-electric power generated from the Machkund Project. This is the most important project so far undertaken to develop electricity in Andhra by harnessing its rich water resources. The completion of the Machkund Hydro-electric Scheme represents the first fruit of planning for the people of Andhra. The fact that it is a joint venture of the States of Andhra and Orissa, both of which have worked together in perfect harmony to complete it, makes it even more important. Such a project, apart from the benefits accruing from it, has its own lesson in co-operative working among States. I congratulate the Governments of both the States on the completion of the project and hope that the switching on of power today from this project will mark the beginning of a new era of well-being and prosperity for their people.

In the modern age, electricity is no mere luxury used for lighting roads and providing other comforts to city dwellers. As Shri Somayajulu has said, it is an essential tool for helping man to

* Inaugural speech at the opening of the power project at Visakhapatnam, 19 August, 1955.

improve his living conditions. As such, it could be hardly less important for the rural areas than for the urban population. In a country like India, where a vast majority of people live in villages, rural electrification is of particular significance. The villager who has learnt to depend only on his hands and limbs and who cannot undertake anything which is beyond the capacity of his sinews, will find a great helper in electricity. He can increase the yield from his land by using power for lift irrigation and supplement his income by applying himself to cottage industries in his spare time. That he will be able to get over the avoidable drudgery of life and improve his surroundings at home and in the field is also a valuable consideration to the cultivator. I, therefore, welcome your proposal to reserve a proportion of this power for electrifying your villages.

Last January, I had the occasion of switching on power generated at the Ganguwal Hydro-electric Station in the Punjab and in my recent tours I have seen some hydro-electric and thermal power stations in Mysore and Bihar. These power stations, studded in our valleys and countryside, are the veritable pillars on which the edifice of India's future industrial prosperity will stand. I have no doubt in my mind that the Andhra State, where the supply of electric power has not so far kept pace with the demand for it, will put the new energy made available by this hydro-electric project to the best possible use. When all the phases of the Machkund Project are completed and when the other projects envisaged in the Second Five-Year Plan have materialised, your State will undoubtedly have taken a big stride towards material prosperity.

Apart from helping the agriculturists and improving our rural economy, electricity also plays a great part in increasing industrial production through heavy, medium and cottage industries. As we go on developing our resources of power, I am sure we shall apply electricity to the various fields of industry in a rational manner so as to ensure balanced development of the country. While using it as a labour-saving device, for example, we shall have to see that this measure does not create unemployment by depriving human hands of work. What is most important is that dignity of labour is maintained, as far as possible human drudgery is eliminated, employment is provided to all and the general rate of production is increased.

Once again I thank you for asking me to switch on the power from the Machkund Hydro-electric Project and giving me an opportunity to associate myself with its inauguration. I wish you the best of luck in all these ventures undertaken for the welfare of the people and the removal of human misery.

I have great pleasure in pressing this switch and releasing the power from the Machkund Hydro-electric Project.

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS*

It has given me great pleasure to be once again in your midst to inaugurate the ninth Annual Meeting of the Indian Society of Agricultural Statistics. Important as the work of this Society is, my attachment with it has an element of personal interest. It was in 1947 that the Society was started and as Minister for Food and Agriculture I was asked to be its first President. It was during the term of my office in that Ministry that I realised, as never before, how deficient we were in agricultural statistics and how urgent it was to make up that deficiency if the country was to progress in developing its agriculture on planned lines. I am glad to say that during the nine years that the Society has been in existence, substantial progress has been made in improving our agricultural statistics. Your Society can claim to have made a substantial contribution to this improvement.

It seems to me very necessary that we should know for each small area in the country the basic structure of agriculture, the number and size of holdings and their characteristics, the conditions under which the land is held and worked by the farmer, the pattern of land utilization, availability of animal power and most important of all, the state of agricultural employment. At the last meeting of the Society, I placed before you a somewhat different aspect of agricultural statistics concerning information on increase in yield expected under actual farming conditions from

* Inaugural speech at the 9th Annual Meeting of The Indian Society of Agricultural Statistics, New Delhi, 7 January, 1956.

different agricultural improvements such as the use of fertilizers, irrigation, improved varieties of seed etc. On the present occasion, I want to place before you a somewhat more integrated picture of the inter-relationship and utilization of these statistics in view of the sustained and systematic effort that we are making for a planned development of our agriculture. In presenting this broad picture, however, I must warn you that I am neither a planner nor a statistician. I shall speak as a layman, who is impressed with the need and the value of having adequate agricultural statistics as the basis for effective planning.

Everyone of us, in a sense, has to plan for securing for himself and for his family maximum comforts and happiness within his resources and income. In regard to agricultural planning, the idea could be best illustrated by considering the case of an individual farmer. The resources ordinarily available to a farmer are his land, his own labour and that of his family and some capital.

The alternatives open to him for using his resources are many. He can grow one or more crops and choose a smaller or a larger acreage for each, keeping in view all the while the investment that he will have to make and the return that he is likely to get. He may decide to devote a part of the area to *rabi* crops and a part to *kharif* crops, having regard to the limited labour that he and his family can put into the land at any one time. If he were to use all his land for growing *rabi* crops, he may have to use a part of his working capital for hiring labour, at the same time keeping his own and his family's labour idle during the other season, both of which he can avoid if he distributed the cropping between the two seasons. Even after deciding which crops to grow, various alternatives are open to our farmer in using his limited capital for providing irrigation, fertilizer, improved seed, special cultivation, etc., to his crops. His basic problem in allocating his resources is to secure the maximum return from them. To be able to solve this problem, the farmer clearly needs to know not only the exact resources at his command, but also the output per unit of these resources, or, to state it the other way, the resources required for securing a unit output. Assuming, for illustration, that the land is capable of growing both cotton and wheat, he would have to figure out what amount of land is required for securing a unit return in terms of value or money from cotton alone and wheat alone. He would also have to figure out what capital is necessary to secure this return from the two crops and its breakup among

the different items of cultivation. These are, I believe, what you will prefer to call input-output co-efficients.

The problem of planning the agricultural development of the country is somewhat analogous. We have to remember, however, that the problem is not merely one of securing the maximum net return or income from agriculture, but we have to aim at meeting the needs of the population, providing raw materials for the industries and alleviating the extensive under-employment that is prevalent in the rural areas in order to give agriculture its rightful place in the overall plan of national development. Clearly, the problem would be how to use the available resources in land, labour and capital, to attain these objectives. We have to have first of all a correct appraisal of the resources available to us in land, labour and capital. What is the total cultivated land in the country? What is its distribution among the different soil types? How much more land is cultivable and can be brought under cultivation? What will be the effort and capital required to bring such land under cultivation and what additional employment will it provide? How much of the land is served with irrigation and is otherwise suitable for specialized crops like fruits and vegetables, jute, cotton, sugarcane, etc.? Unless we have reliable data on each of these aspects relating to land, we cannot claim to know our resources and to that extent we shall be handicapped in effective planning. We must also know the increase in yield per acre likely to be brought about under the different soil and farming conditions by the various agricultural improvement measures made available to us through research, in which the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and the State Departments of Agriculture are playing a prominent role. We must, at the same time, be able to assess the extent to which our capital resources will allow us to use these improved measures for increased production. This assessment will include items like the amount of fertilizers that our factories can produce, or we can buy from outside, the extent to which new irrigation works can be constructed for irrigating more land and so on. In planning the development of agriculture, therefore, it would seem necessary to go by the information accumulated over a series of years and to allow for the range over which both our targets and outputs are likely to vary.

Equally important with planning is the need for appraising the results actually attained. Not only is an appraisal necessary for

determining whether we have succeeded in getting what we set about to achieve, but what is perhaps even more important for modifying the plan in the light of the experience gained.

In the Second Five-Year Plan, which we are about to initiate, we shall be concerned not only with the increase in our national income from agriculture, but also with the extent to which gainful employment from agriculture has increased and the under-employment alleviated. I need hardly emphasize that the assessment of the latter is a problem beset with serious difficulties. The rural population will nonetheless judge the success of our Plan by the extent to which it secures greater employment from agriculture and related occupations to be provided under the Plan. I attach great importance to this aspect of appraisal of our Plan and I am wondering whether the Planning Commission should not make over to independent regional bodies the task of continued appraisal of the achievements of the Plan. These bodies might comprise agricultural statisticians, economists and representatives of the governments and the rural population in the region.

While I attach great importance to what may be called continuing appraisal of results, being achieved, I do not shut my eyes against the most real and serious difficulty which faces every planner in this country. The holdings of our agriculturists are, by and large, small and tiny and by far the largest majority of them do not produce for a market but for their own consumption. Their decisions are not and cannot be based on an appreciation of the trend of the market but are dictated by the necessity for growing their food. A choice between wheat and cotton in many cases is not available and perforce they have to decide in favour of wheat or other food crops, even though it may give a lesser yield with all the contemplated improvements. An appraisal of achievement is, therefore, all the more necessary. We may not also forget that money introduces a most disturbing factor. A money crop can be more profitable but a food crop may be essential for life and the former can be preferred only at the cost of life, because it cannot be said that there is always a parity in prices in respect of all crops, the prices of money crops particularly depending on a number of factors much beyond the ken and control of a country. In this country, therefore, we cannot afford to be complacent about these matters and have to take into consideration, factors not easily calculable. In making a plan, account has to be taken of these and many other factors and

the appraisal of achievement is correspondingly complicated and difficult.

A continuous appraisal of the results of the Plan made by such bodies will not only help to increase the people's confidence in the efficacy of the Plan, but would inspire them to participate more actively in the Plan for accelerating the tempo of progress.

I wish your conference success and hope that your deliberations will contribute to a wider appreciation of the important part that the agricultural statistician has to play in planning for greater prosperity of our agriculture.

GANGA BRIDGE, MOKAMEHGhat

Foundation-stone Laying Ceremony

26 February, 1956

It gives me great pleasure to be here today to lay the foundation-stone of the Ganga Bridge. It will be the first bridge on the Ganga in Bihar State and, as such, I know full well what a boon it is going to be to the people of this State and what a long-felt need it is going to fulfil. As one who belongs to this State and whose activities have mostly kept him mobile, necessitating frequent touring of every part of this State, I can very well imagine the great benefits that this bridge will confer on the people of Bihar particularly and on others generally.

The Ganga has been flowing through the heart of Bihar from time immemorial, cutting this State into two parts, known as Mithila and Magadha in ancient times. In those days when inter-communications were not so well developed, when people were reconciled to long distances and when self-sufficiency was the keynote of the economic set-up of every region in India, it is possible that the absence of a bridge over the Ganga in these parts was not

so keenly felt. In the present-day world when scientific inventions have conquered space and distance and when great importance is attached to speedy communications, absence of a direct rail and road link between north and south Bihar was bound to be felt as a grave handicap. The economies of these two parts of Bihar are complementary to each other, one part being dependant on the other, north Bihar is primarily agricultural and produces large quantities of sugar and foodgrains. South Bihar, on the other hand, is very rich in minerals like coal, iron, copper, mica, cement, etc., which provide the basic requirements of present-day industries. Inadequate facilities of transport between these two parts of Bihar have had a deleterious effect on the development of North Bihar. Is it not surprising that it should be easier to transport coal from Dhanbad to Delhi than to the northern districts of Bihar on the other side of the Ganga?

These delays and consequent inconveniences began to be felt by the people in the early years of this century when the question of replacement of the wagon-ferry at Mokamehghat by a bridge began to be mooted. On the two sides of the Ganga, different railway companies were operating. They operated on commercial lines and, therefore, profits and dividends for the shareholders weighed more with them than the people's convenience or the question of developing inter-communications in Bihar. That is why, right from the first decade of this century upto the Second World War, no decision could be taken about bridging the Ganga with a view to providing a rail-cum-road link between north and south Bihar. Whenever the question came up for consideration, the two railway companies viewed it in the light of the possible effect the proposed bridge would have on their earnings. Although the railways had been nationalised, the Railway Board in New Delhi could not take a bold line of action because of the fear of any adverse effect of such a step on the British shareholders of the former B.N.W. Railway, which was purchased by the Government long after the Government had acquired the East Indian Railway.

All such considerations look outmoded, if not parochial, today to the Government of free India. Although, in the interests of the nation, the Railways must continue to work on commercial lines, yet the proper development of the means of communications in the country is without doubt of paramount importance. I am glad that the Ministry of Railways has given this project the priority

which it deserved. While in the neighbouring State of Uttar Pradesh there are as many as six bridges over the Ganga within a stretch of about 600 miles, in Bihar where the Ganga flows over a length of 250 miles, this will be the first bridge over it. I do not mean to draw any comparisons, but the fact remains that the absence of a bridge and the division of Bihar into two parts by the river has been a great handicap. It would perhaps be no exaggeration to say that this factor has to a large extent been responsible, comparatively speaking, for the backwardness of North Bihar in industrial development in spite of its industrious people and an exceedingly fertile soil.

The new bridge will also link West Bengal with its northern districts and Assam. Since the Partition of India and the subsequent closing of the old Bengal-Assam Railway route, it was most urgent to provide adequate traffic facilities between south Bihar and north Bihar and from Calcutta to north Bengal and Assam. The construction of the Assam Rail Link seven years ago was only the first step taken towards joining north Bihar with Assam and the southern districts of West Bengal with its northern districts and Assam. The construction of this bridge will complete that process by providing a direct rail link between the above-mentioned areas. This bridge will, therefore, be a vital link in the system of communications in eastern India.

The facts and figures about the proposed project, the huge quantities of material required and the number of men engaged in the work—all these show the magnitude of the undertaking. I must congratulate the Railway Minister, Shri Lal Bahadurji and also the Ministry of Railways and Transport on their earnestness and speed in respect of this important project. The arrangements they have made for the residence, medical care and other amenities of the workers are indeed commendable. I have no doubt that everyone who lends a helping hand in this work, whatever his status and whatever the function assigned to him in this project, will be able to look back with pride to this joint national venture. Let me hope, the Ganga Bridge which will link north and south Bihar, will be symbolic of the unity and strength of the Indian nation, which was once so well reflected in the glory and grandeur of Mithila on the one hand and of Magadha on the other—the two regions which this bridge will join together.

FARMERS' FORUM, NEW DELHI

Inaugural Speech

2 April, 1956

I am very glad to be here in the midst of the representatives of farmers coming from all over India. When the invitation to inaugurate this session of the Farmers' Forum was extended to me, I accepted it with pleasure. The Indian farmer is the back-bone of our country. He has been so for centuries and, as far as I can see, will ever remain so in the future as well. There are two reasons for this: firstly, our farmers are the foremost of our producers, and, secondly, they are so large in number as to constitute about three-fourths of our total population. The work of the Indian farmer is so important that the whole country has to depend on him for so many things. Our first and foremost requirement is food; this is provided to us by the *kisan*. Then we need clothing; the raw material for this is also provided by the farmer. If a *Kisan* also plies the spinning wheel in his spare time, of which he has ample, he can also produce yarn for the cloth without incurring any extra cost. Again, as I have said, farmers in our country are so numerous that their welfare automatically means the welfare of a large section of the population. As a matter of fact, rural reconstruction in India means largely improvement in the conditions of the farmers. The farmer, in short, is the very measure of success of any welfare work undertaken in the countryside.

I am glad that besides the farmers, representatives of allied trades, which have to deal with the farmer in their day-to-day life, are also present in this Convention. The nature of work and duties of *kisans* in this country are such that mostly they have to stay in the villages. Such occasions, therefore, when they can come in contact with other people outside the villages, should be of value not only for them but also for others. Mutual contact and exchange of views are excellent means of broadening the human vision. At this time particularly, when important reconstruction plans are being formulated and implemented, this kind of contact is of special significance. Therefore, I heartily welcome this convention and congratulate its conveners.

In addition to other things, I believe there is one thing which must be brought home to the *kisans* in as easy a way as possible.

There is a belief prevalent among a section of the educated people that the Indian *kisans* are conservative by nature and do not easily give up their old ways and, therefore, it is very difficult to popularise new ideas and practices among them. I am sure this belief has no basis in fact. While it is true that our *kisans* do not accept anything till they are convinced of its utility, it is also a fact that once they come to have faith in an innovation, they accept it without question. As pointed out by Dr. Panjab Rao Deshmukh, the Japanese method of cultivation furnishes an instance of it. Having found it useful in case of paddy, the *kisans* applied it on their own to other crops also and to their great advantage.

It is very essential that along with agriculture attention is also devoted to the welfare of our cattle, on whom the brunt of agricultural operations falls. The cow gives us nutritious food in the shape of milk, curds, butter, etc. She is also the source of manure, which either we destroy through our ignorance or do not use as much as we should. Again, it is from her that we get bullocks who plough our fields and work as beasts of burden. Even when they are dead, they leave valuable hides for us. There are many other things which we get from the cattle, the most valuable of them being the manure, provided we make proper use of it. I feel that if only we take to scientific cattle breeding, once again we can have plenty of milk in this country. We shall have to give up old ways and cultivate genuine regard for the cow in order to achieve this end. We shall have to feed the cow properly and take to scientific methods of cattle breeding. It is my conviction that unless agriculture and proper care of the cattle are combined, we shall not be able to solve our food problem. Foodgrains are, no doubt, the principal item in our diet, but milk, curds and butter are no less important.

The agricultural research institutes situated in various parts of the country should do their utmost to propagate the results of their researches among the *kisans*. That is the only way of utilizing those researches. The researches and experiments carried out in western countries have established, beyond doubt, the efficacy of the scientific method in agriculture. In the East, Japan took to scientific agriculture and, as a result of it, was able to increase her food production manifold. We should also take the fullest advantage of the latest scientific researches in order to step up the production of foodgrains and milk in our country. Your proposal in this connection that opportunities should be provided

to *kisans* to say for some days in the Pusa Agricultural Research Institute and other similar institutes, is highly commendable. In my opinion, such contact between the *kisans* and the research institutes would bring us rich dividends and the farmers would be able to reap the fullest benefit from researches.

The Farmers Forum can do a lot in this connection to benefit the *kisan* as also Indian agriculture. This is an organisation of the *kisans* who should be able to get guidance and practical help from it. As in case of others, the modern age had posed between problems for the *kisans* also. They have to strike a mean between their old ways and the new methods so that the requirements of progress and practical work may be harmonised. Providing proper guidance at such a time is a matter of special importance. That is why I think the organisation of the Farmers Forum has removed a long-felt want. The Forum, like the Bharat Sevak Samaj, is a non-official organisation, though departments dealing with agricultural matters may have helped it to come into being. Its main object is to improve the condition of the *kisans*, to make their lives richer and to raise their standards of living.

The responsibility which the Farmers Forum has taken upon itself is no doubt heavy, but it is of great constructive value. We have so much to do that everyone can contribute his or her bit to it according to his or her capacity and experience. Thus they can help the *kisans* and the country and advance their welfare. Let me hope the efforts of Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh and you all will bear fruit.

I now inaugurate this session of the Farmers Forum with pleasure.

AMBAR CHARKHA*

I am happy to be here this morning to inaugurate this *Parishramalaya* for training people in Ambar Charkha. Many years

* Inaugural speech at the opening of the first *Parishramalaya* at Thirumangalam, Madras, 16 August, 1956.

ago Mahatma Gandhi, on behalf of the Spinners' Association, had announced an award of Re. 1 lakh or Rs. 2 lakh for an improved design of the *charkha*. It was then that many people applied their minds to the problem and tried to construct a *charkha* which could pass the tests laid down by Gandhiji. Although the competition was kept open for several years, no *charkha* came up to the mark, and the prize was never given. It is only now, during the last few months or a year or a little over a year, that the Ambar Charkha has been invented, and it is believed that it fulfils the tests which Gandhiji had proposed. Experiments are going on and improvements are being made almost every day. It is hoped that, in course of time, it will give even better results than it has done so far. On the basis of the results achieved so far, the Government have decided to encourage it and entrusted the Khadi Board with the task of producing some 300 million yards of cloth from handspun yarn. In the first year, the programme is to introduce at least 75,000 Ambar Charkhas in the country. It is not a small number if we think of the amount of work which has to be put in to fulfil the target. For, it is not merely a problem of making 75,000 *charkhas* and putting them in the hands of the people; the result is to be judged on the basis of the prescribed amount of yarn which these *charkhas* are able to produce. All those who are engaged in this work have, therefore, a great responsibility. They have to remember that they are in the position of examinees. The examiners are supposed to have no sympathy. They have their set standards and they will judge the results by them. The future programme will depend on the success achieved in the first year. I, therefore, hope that the *Parishramalayas* and like organizations being started all over the country, will bear this in mind and make every effort to fulfil the expectations made of them.

Tamilnad has always played a prominent part in the propagation of khadi, and if I mistake not, the original of the Ambar Charkha was also conceived by some khadi worker from Tamilnad. The specimen must have been made by others, but the original was made here in your State. I am therefore happy in inaugurating this *Parishramalaya*.

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT*

It has given me great pleasure to be present here today for opening the Delhi State Central Co-operative Stores. I am told this store will be the nucleus of a network of sub-stores proposed to be set up all over the State both in the urban and rural areas. Since this co-operative store has been sponsored by the Union Ministry of Agriculture and the Delhi State Government, I am sure, in actual working and in rendering service to consumers, it will serve as a model to other co-operative ventures.

The benefits of the Co-operative Movement and the place it occupies in present-day economic planning are too well known to need any emphasis from me. In our Five-Year Plans, special stress has been laid on the Co-operative Movement and the State Governments have been enjoined to do all in their power to make this movement a success in different walks of life, specially agriculture and supply of consumer goods. In the Second Five-Year Plan, a specific provision has been made for establishing central co-operative stores. This is the third store of its kind in India, the other two being located in Bombay and Madras.

The movement for the establishment of co-operative stores needs all encouragement. The co-operative stores supply quality goods at reasonable prices. They not only function on a non-profit basis, but also serve their members by supplying them with goods of daily use at their door-step. I am told this store has already started a home delivery service. I can well imagine what a boon such a store can be, particularly to the people of a town like Delhi where, after earning a monthly salary, the second toughest problem an average house-holder has to face is that of spending it profitably and economically. With new colonies springing up in all directions and distances inexorably lengthening, one finds it hard even to secure one's daily necessities of life.

Supply of consumer goods might seem to some as too earthy or too commonplace a matter, but once the supply is interrupted or the quality of the goods supplied starts deteriorating we know what importance we attach to it. I have, therefore, no doubt that the people of Delhi will welcome this venture as an undertaking

* Speech at the opening of the Delhi State Central Co-operative Stores, 4 September, 1956.

which concerns all and sundry and which will benefit the common man.

Let me also say a few words about the benefits this Store will confer on the rural population of Delhi State. They will be able to market their produce through the Store without having to carry it to the town and without having to sell under stress of economic factors. As far as I know, there was no organisation so far through which articles produced by cottage industries in rural Delhi could be marketed and sold. Not only that, the consumer in the countryside, who has now to travel long distances to buy his essential requirements ranging from seeds to soap, and waste time, money and energy in coming to the urban market, will be able to get whatever he needs from the rural sub-depots near at hand. Thus, both the producer and the consumer will benefit a great deal from this organisation which does not aim at making profits but is actuated by the spirit of service.

Starting a chain of co-operative stores with high hopes necessarily places a heavy responsibility on those who will be charged with the task of running it. This is not the first time that a co-operative store has been started in Delhi. During the last few years, I am told, a number of such stores were registered but many of them had to close down soon after. The main reason for their failure was that there was no parent organization which could organise distribution properly after ascertaining the requirements of different stores. This Central Store will, I hope, remove this short-coming. On its success as also on the service which it is able to render to the people will depend, to a large extent, the success of the Co-operative Movement in Delhi State. Considering the general experience we have had in this field, and keeping in view the potentialities of co-operative societies, I trust, every care will be taken to see that apart from the benefits which this store directly confers on the people of this town, it conducts itself in such a manner as to make the Co-operative Movement popular in this State generally.

I wish this undertaking all success and hope that the Central Co-operative Store will have a long career of useful public service.

With these words, I have great pleasure in declaring the Central Co-operative Store open.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF APPLIED ECONOMIC RESEARCH

Inaugural Address

18 December, 1955

I welcome the idea of establishing an independent non-official research organisation to undertake, promote, and coordinate research in economic and industrial problems. It, therefore, gives me great pleasure to open the National Council of Applied Economic Research. This Council with which the business community is closely associated and which the Government have agreed to encourage, will be of great help in the development of Indian industry in accordance with our requirements and in the light of the latest scientific processes. In the context of our present plans and programmes and in view generally of the vast and rapid strides that industrial development is making all the world over, it is no exaggeration to say that the present is the age of technicians and economists. The researches carried out by this Council on specific economic problems of current importance will provide the necessary guidance as also correctives in the fields and methods of our expanding industries. In view of our developmental programme for industrialisation, I have no doubt a research institution like yours which will link scientific discoveries and latest business methods with popular needs will be filling a long-felt want.

The fact that it is going to be a private non-governmental research organisation run on a completely non-profit basis, will enhance its scope of work and general utility. Let me hope the service which it renders to the people, particularly the business community, will in course of time give to your Council the rank and status of a full-fledged national research institute.

I have always felt that scientific inventions or the discovery of new methods in any sphere call for research work in order to be of practical use to the manufacturer and the consumer. Researches which remain confined to laboratories or text books can hardly be of any consequence to the people. Fundamental or basic research, valuable as it is, is something like an industry's raw material, which has to be processed in order to be turned into a finished product. In more or less the same way all inventions and discoveries have to be studied properly in order to be fitted into the framework of

industry. I have no doubt that your Council will be tackling this important task in a systematic and planned manner.

I have noted with considerable satisfaction that among the projects which your Council proposes to take up immediately, the problems of small-scale industries have been assigned high priority. Before a gathering of economists and industrialists and business experts like this, I need hardly dwell on the importance of the small-scale industries in the peculiar economic set-up of our country. Suffice it to say that these industries not only supplement the basic or heavy industries but are their essential adjuncts. In our plan to step up production and raise the standard of living of the masses by increasing the national wealth, heavy industries have indeed a big part to play. But any scheme which fails to take into account our surplus man-power and our predominantly agricultural economy will not be able to achieve the said objective. For the gainful employment of all available hands, it is necessary that cottage industries are encouraged and reasonable limits set to the process of mass production through total mechanisation by reserving sectors, or otherwise limiting cut-throat competition between hand power and steam and electric or atomic power. I am glad your Council recognises this essential fact and proposes to investigate the problems of small-scale industries.

I sometimes wonder if the time has not arrived for economists to pay more attention to production for consumption rather than for profit or in other words for marketing. The rapid and phenomenal advance which industrial technique is making, particularly in the field of production of power and rationalisation of the mechanism of production makes it more and more difficult, if not impossible, for backward and under-developed countries and nations to catch up with the advanced countries, and it looks as if they can never compete with them on terms of equality if production is to be for marketing and not for personal or local consumption. A certain amount of exchange and marketing is necessary even in non-industrialised society, but today the whole world tends to become, if it has not done so already, a single market for even the smallest and least significant and least essential of goods as much as for the most essential goods. If industrially backward communities have to survive and prosper in this age of cut-throat competition as between trades and countries and nations, they have to think out afresh their problems in the light of their own conditions and experience. Otherwise, the chances are that they will continue to

be the happy hunting-grounds for all enterprising nations who cannot be blamed, because they are advanced and because they succeed in competition in which the less advanced countries enter of their own free will and choice.

It is not easy, even if it is possible, to escape the effect of that competition even for a country which is not enamoured of the present-day developments. But it is necessary to make sure before taking a deep plunge and burning our boats that there is neither an alternative course available nor is it possible to get out of the stranglehold. No one should or can be dogmatic in such a complicated and complex matter, particularly because it has not been fully investigated either from the technical or the economic point of view. The shift from production for profit to production for consumption will be so fundamental and far-reaching in the context of present and prospective developments in science and technique that it cannot be contemplated without considerable hesitation and misgivings, particularly by us of the present generation who have been born and brought up in this age of scientific and industrial advance. It is for that very reason all the more necessary that it should be studied and investigated in a calm and equable atmosphere unaffected by gusts of political or even ideological slogans and undisturbed by economic or industrial conundrums which have acquired the prestige and position of axioms. Yours is essentially an organisation which undertakes such a research, although I may say in passing, none may like to pay for it. As I attach importance to your organisation and work and have high hopes, I have ventured to draw attention to a subject of such basic importance.

I wish you the best of luck and hope that the National Council of Applied Economic Research will have a long career of national service.

I have great pleasure in opening the National Council of Applied Economic Research.

A. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR*

I am grateful for the opportunity which has been given to me of unveiling the portrait of one who has served the country during the very fruitful period of our history. It is as well to remind ourselves from time to time about the great services rendered by those who are no longer with us by holding such functions as this. We of the present generation are apt to forget the services rendered by great men in the past and it is likely that those who follow us might do the same. It is, therefore, necessary in the interest of the country as well as in that of each one of us that from time to time we get an opportunity of holding such functions. It would help the younger generation to acquaint itself with the services rendered by great men in the past.

A. Rangaswami Aiyangar was one of those leaders who worked during the formative period of our political life, who worked for long and with great ability and devotion. It was my good fortune to have come in contact with him, in later years, in connection with the work of the Congress, and I can say from personal knowledge that his advice and his counsel were listened to with great respect because he was considered as one of those who had specialized in the study of public affairs and who was always able to give wise counsel whenever any problem required a solution. It was not only in Congress circles that he was respected : he reached a much bigger circle through the papers which he edited and, as you have pointed out, he moulded public opinion considerably through those papers, not because he followed any particular line but because he gave thought to all the problems, studied them and was able to express his opinion with firmness and deliberation. Amongst Congressmen I find that because of the peculiar conditions in which they have worked, there is not that desire for studying problems in detail. Very often they are carried away by opinions expressed by others without giving them independent thought.

* Speech made on the occasion of unveiling the portrait of the late A. Rangaswami Aiyangar at the New Delhi Town Hall, New Delhi, 4 June, 1952.

They have been engaged in a kind of work which rather required less thinking and more of action. Now that times have changed, the examples set by people like the late Shri A. Rangaswami Aiyangar should be followed and problems which come up for discussion should be studied in all their aspects and opinions formed on various questions. It is from that point of view that I attach great value to the lives of people.

But it is not only for his independent outlook that we respect Shri A. Rangaswami Aiyangar. We are also aware of his great devotion to the cause of the country, the sacrifices that he made, and the way in which he worked day and night for the country. I hope that the study of the lives of such men will serve as an example and a source of inspiration to posterity.

K. M. PANIKKAR*

May I offer my felicitations to you on this happy occasion when it has been my privilege to confer this Degree on you? As everybody knows, if Dr. Panikkar had taken to the line of teaching, he would have adorned some professorial chair either in this University or in some other university. If he had stuck to journalism, he would have adorned the editorial chair of some well-known journal in this country and outside too. On the other hand, if he had taken to authorship, as he began early in life, I have no doubt that his contribution to literature, not only in his own language but in other languages and particularly English, would have been equally great. But Mr. Panikkar took to administration and diplomacy and he has earned laurels in those fields which ordinarily would appear strange to one devoted to letters or to teaching. His versatility is beyond all doubt. His shop is not a grocer's shop where you can get everything but much of nothing. It is one of those big stores

* Speech as Chancellor, made at a special Convocation of Delhi University convened for conferring the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws on Sardar Panikkar, 22 August, 1952.

where you can get much of everything ! The University has honoured itself by conferring the Degree on such a distinguished scholar.

It is really matter of regret for us, who are residents of the North that we are so very ignorant of the languages of the South that we really do not know much about their literature except what we can gather from translations in English and now also in some of the North Indian languages. But there is no doubt that the part which the South has played in the cultural evolution of India is at least as great, if not greater, as that of the North, because it is in the South that the ancient culture of India could be seen at work even today while it has ceased to function in many other parts of our country. So far as Sanskrit is concerned, everyone familiar with that language knows that the contribution of the South has been very great. One South Indian friend recently told me that while *Avataras* were all born in the North, the *Acharyas* came from the South. That is true. What is more important is that the *Avataras* are messengers but the *Acharyas* were real men of letters and learning who by their writings have left behind something which still guides the people. Let me hope that tradition will continue to be recognised by North India.

I hope the award of Doctorate to Dr. Panikkar is only the first of a series to follow not only in this University but in other Universities also. I congratulate you once more on the honour that has been conferred on you.

THE TRADITION OF TOLERANCE*

It has given me genuine pleasure to be present on this occasion and to take part in this function. When I was approached first to attend this function, I felt that it was my duty holding the position which I do, to join in all functions which bring back to us memories of the past although they might belong to particular groups only. As has been very aptly pointed out, here in this country we have a

* Speech delivered on the occasion of the 19th Centenary Celebrations of the visit of St. Thomas to India, New Delhi, 14 December, 1952.

very old and long-standing tradition and that tradition is the tradition of tolerance, the tradition of living and letting others live in peace without interference, without in any way doing any harm to others simply because they choose to follow another faith. We have always believed that the mountain top can be reached by various paths and every man is free to get to the top by whichever path he likes; and it is in that sense that in India the Hindus have never insisted upon any dogma to be accepted and believed in by everyone. In other words, they have accepted every dogma as truth and they have allowed people to go in their own way so far as their thoughts, faiths or beliefs were concerned, although they have regimented their life to a great extent. It is on account of this tradition of tolerance that we see one apostle coming from an unknown land and settling down in India, preaching his faith, establishing his church and founding a large number of institutions for his followers and disappearing later. Hundreds of years later we find another batch of people belonging to another faith coming from their own land welcomed by the people of this country and allowed to settle down as honourable citizens of this great country. We have had contacts with other countries for centuries and I am not aware that there is one single instance of India having led a conquering army to another country. We have sent out our missionaries and our men of faith to other countries who have gone and preached there. We have received with open arms missionaries of other faiths from other lands and in that way our whole culture has been built up. It is necessary to remember all this these days when occasionally we hear of a certain thought of communalism gaining ground here or there. It is foreign to our culture, foreign to our tradition and I am hoping that it is only a passing phase and that even if it exists to any extent in this country, it will soon disappear and we shall be again ourselves, tolerant of each other, embracing one another in love and living happily as a single family.

It is no small tribute to the Christian Church that during the last 1900 years it has flourished in a country where, although there was tolerance, and no force was used against it, it still had to fight ideologically against other faiths which had their own philosophy of life, their own concepts of religion and had developed to a very great extent their own way of living. That they should have lived and flourished is a great tribute to them: and it is not only to Christians but to the people of other faiths also: and I say today that when in framing our Constitution we have guaranteed complete

religious freedom, complete freedom not only to profess a faith but also to preach and practise it, we have done nothing more than recording a fact which is centuries old. And although there may be occasions when we may find some ripples here and there, I say again that it is not a manifestation of our nature but something which for some reason or the other has made its appearance and will disappear soon.

I am sure everybody in this country believes that the freedom guaranteed by our Constitution is genuine. It is not a make-believe freedom. So far as this Government and the better mind of our people are concerned, it will be fully preserved even if it calls for some sacrifices. It is for this reason that I have found peculiar pleasure in being present here and joining in this celebration. I give you this assurance that in this country you will be as free as you can be anywhere else.

WELCOME TO EVEREST HEROES*

It is a matter of great gratification to me that we have been able to meet here this afternoon to show our appreciation and to do honour to the members of the British Expedition to Everest. Attempts to conquer this peak had been going on for a long time. During the last 32 years no less than 11 expeditions were undertaken. It is indeed the good fortune of this last expedition to have achieved the conquest of the highest peak in the world. The work done, the knowledge gained and the experience acquired by the previous expeditions have all gone to make the present expedition successful and we owe it to them no less than to members of the present expedition for the great success that has been achieved.

This conquest is an example of team work. It shows that with organization, experience, fearlessness and courage, there is nothing which the human mind and the human body and soul cannot

* Speech made at the time of reception to members of the British Everest Expedition and presentation of special medals to them, New Delhi, 29 June, 1953.

achieve. We are, therefore, very happy that the present expedition was able to conquer the Everest. We especially congratulate the leader of this expedition for having undertaken this venture.

The two members who were selected to take the last lap were fortunate in having reached the top. But the others too, did the duty which they were asked to perform and it is due to the team work of all that this great achievement has been made. Therefore, while I congratulate the leader and the two members who actually stood on the highest peak in the world, I congratulate also the other members who, by performing the work allotted to each of them, have all helped in bringing the ultimate success.

Let us hope that the spirit of enterprise and adventure exhibited by the present expedition will continue to guide humanity not only for making this kind of conquest, but in making the greater and higher conquest of the human spirit which will enable all of us to live in peace, to help each other in time of need and to live as members of one family.

There are in this expedition people from at least three or four countries. They have all worked together in a spirit of co-operation and friendliness and they have achieved this great success. The same spirit of friendliness and helpfulness will enable the world to achieve peace which we need so much. Let us hope that we will achieve that peace as we have achieved the conquest of Mt. Everest. I congratulate the leader and the other members of the expedition on their great achievement.

PUNJAB'S NEW CAPITAL

Inaugural Speech

7 October, 1953

I consider it a great pleasure and a privilege to inaugurate this new capital town of the Punjab. It is a pleasure because the new capital symbolises the urge, the indomitable desire of the people of this State to come into their own by getting over the

temporary set-back which the partition gave them. It is a privilege because an opportunity of inaugurating the capital city of a State like the Punjab comes only rarely.

I congratulate the Government of the Punjab, specially the engineers and the administrators whose doggedness is mainly responsible for turning a dream into a reality. I remember how, not long ago, the capital project was looked upon by a section of the people as a mirage, a mere dream and a luxury having little chance of materialising. It was contended by spokesmen of the Punjab Government that the new capital would be the largest single step towards the rehabilitation of displaced persons. Thanks to your perseverance, the sympathy and monetary assistance extended by the Centre in an unbounded measure and, above all, thanks to the unstinted support you were able to enlist of our Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, all the hurdles were soon crossed and doubts dispelled.

It is indeed a tribute to the zeal and ability of the engineers and architects that within a little more than two years of the start of the work, the Government have found the rising city suitable enough to be occupied and used as a capital.

As one goes round and sees this new township one cannot help feeling that it is going to be one of the most modern towns in this country. Apart from the many advantages it will bestow upon the people of this State, this city has also provided ample scope for new experiments in town-planning and architecture. In this new town, I am told, the needs of the people have been harmonised with architectural requirements and considerations of utility and bare comforts of the residents have been collated with the requirements of æsthetics and modern designing. Chandigarh can be justly proud of having the best living quarters for peons and *duftaries* in India. Each residential unit for this class of employees here contains two rooms, a small verandah, a court-yard, a kitchen, a bath-room and a pull-the-chain lavatory. Three water taps and four electric points have also been provided in each unit. Similarly in other spheres of life the planning of Chandigarh promises to be unique in many respects.

As the Biblical saying goes, 'sometimes good cometh out of evil'. If I may say so, the coming into being of Chandigarh is going to compensate the people of the State for their recent sufferings and inconveniences. Planned and designed as the capital is and situated as it is at the foot of the hills, I am certain, in course of

time, it will become a prize possession for the people of this State and, possibly, the envy of other States. When new rail and road links, now in the making, are completed, Chandigarh will almost become the most central place in the Punjab. It is going to have a steadying influence on the administration and economic development of the State.

With the move of the Government to the new capital, Chandigarh enters a new phase. You have been privileged to see a new town rise and grow during your life-time. You will now have an opportunity to build up its civic traditions, because a town is not merely a collection of buildings, howsoever well-designed; it is what its citizens make it.

Let me hope that Chandigarh will in every sense be an expression of the urge to forge ahead and the creative genius of the sturdy people of this State. To the extent that the new town of Chandigarh will be free from old traditions and encumbrances of any kind, I hope it will blaze a trail not only for those who come and stay here, but also for others. I also hope its residents will develop the best traditions of citizenship.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this new town and wishing it, the State Government and the people happiness and prosperity.

INDIA'S SOCIAL SERVICES*

It has given me great pleasure to be present here today and to know from the illuminating speech of your Chairman, Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh, how the Central Social Welfare Board, which was established last year, is steadily expanding its activities.

Whenever I think about the social welfare problem, my mind spontaneously turns to the Directive Principles incorporated in Part IV of our Constitution which came into force on the 26th

* Inaugural address to the Conference of Chairmen of State Social Welfare Boards, New Delhi, 20 January, 1954.

January, 1950. That is the pole-star which guides our activities in the field of social welfare. Having been closely associated with the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly as its President, the reference to the Directive Principles strikes a sympathetic chord in my mind as it evokes a personal concern. You are all aware that the Directive Principles laid down in Part IV of our Constitution are fundamental in the governance of the country and that it is the sacred duty of the State to apply them in making laws. It is, therefore, a matter for serious thought as to how far we have discharged that responsibility of securing social and economic justice which is the ideal placed before us in the Preamble of our Constitution. Have we made any progress towards the objective laid down in Articles 38 and 41 of the Constitution? Has the State, within the limit of its capacity, made any effective provision for securing the right to work, to education, and to assist the unemployed, the old and the sick? The Constitution prohibits employment of children below the age of 14 in factories, mines and such hazardous undertakings. We might search our hearts and ask ourselves whether we have done everything that is possible to implement this Directive. These are some of the matters to which I would expect this Conference to devote its attention. If any of the existing laws are coming in the way of implementing the Directive Principles, I believe suitable steps will have to be taken to bring them in conformity with the Constitution.

In a vast country like ours, a network of social organizations would be necessary to create a Welfare State. Luckily, however, traditions of voluntary social service in India are as old as her history. Many of these voluntary organizations have been doing pioneering work over a number of years. One of the great pioneers in this field was the late Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale. I recollect on this occasion his prophetic words uttered during my interview with him in 1910 when I was a student of Law. While persuading me to take to social service, he said that the country expected its promising youths to dedicate themselves to social service and that even if there was no glamour in it, ultimately "your countrymen are bound to appreciate your work". It is, therefore, a very happy idea to enlist the co-operation of such voluntary organizations for carrying on the work of social welfare. The voluntary effort in this sphere, which was isolated and sporadic, has now received

public recognition for the first time, and I am glad to see that it has been dovetailed into a comprehensive national plan of social welfare and thus placed on a sound permanent footing. The Central Social Welfare Board is therefore to be congratulated on the prudent provision of grants-in-aid made by it to the existing social organizations in the country.

It is heartening to note that the Central Board recognized that it was not enough to extend financial aid to welfare organizations which are mostly localised in or around urban areas. Our rural areas do not receive the attention they deserve at the hands of social workers. No doubt, the Gandhian constructive workers have shown the way, and the Community Projects and the National Extension Service Administration that followed, are making an organized effort for the first time on a national scale to contact the village folk. But the emphasis in the Community Projects and the National Extension Service Blocks has been mostly, and of course rightly, on more and better production, regional development in terms of roads and communications and a modest programme of social education coupled with public health services. The Welfare Extension Project schemes of the Central Social Welfare Board, therefore, came not a day too soon to supplement the other efforts in the rural areas, and I am glad to see that a nexus has now been established between the urban and the rural areas.

The whole gamut of activity under the Five-Year Plan can be roughly divided under two heads—economic and social. While the need for social services is greater, the wherewithal for the same is not available to the required extent. Again, while for implementing the economic programme, the services of a well-knit organization are available, the machinery for implementing the social programme can be built up only as the actual work progresses. But it is of the utmost importance to remember that, in a way, economic progress is only a means to progress in the direction of social welfare, which may be said to be the end of planning. The whole thing sounds like a paradox which, perhaps, it is. At first sight it seems that economic progress without solid achievement in the field of social welfare will ever remain bereft of its real content; on the other hand, we find the concept of social welfare less concrete than that of economic progress, and therefore, less easy to grasp and more difficult to achieve than the latter. A dispassionate view of the problem will, however, show that actually there is nothing wrong

with our order of priorities. Economic progress being the means to achieve social progress of the community, which is the end, has to be given some preference. And that is exactly how we are proceeding about in the implementation of the Five-Year Plan.

I would like to utter a word of caution. The idea of a Welfare State is good and is no doubt being pursued by the Government of India. But just as in the field of economics, more so in the field of welfare, it is necessary to pursue a mixed welfare policy. The wisdom of pursuing a mixed policy lies in knowing where to draw the line. Some welfare services touch and influence the most vital and intimate aspects of personal and family life. Here, there is a danger of the State encroaching upon and monopolising the entire range of the wide variety of welfare problems ranging from personal and family problems to widespread socio-economic problems. The Governmental machinery, even if it be of a Welfare State, is, by virtue of its very constitution, impersonal, whereas the welfare services require a human touch which the voluntary social workers alone can bring to bear upon them. A highly specialised autonomous body like the Central Social Welfare Board can, therefore, demarcate the respective fields of operation for voluntary and State agencies.

I am glad to note that the Central Social Welfare Board has adopted a policy of decentralisation and has moved the State Governments to appoint Social Welfare Advisory Boards in the States. Some of these Boards have already been set up. This step should ensure the co-operation of regional talent and experience and provide an effective base for the Central Board to operate successfully in the various parts of the country. Though the Central and State Boards have started functioning rather late, I am sure that by the end of the First Five-Year Plan period they would have established a wide network of co-ordinated welfare bodies in every district of the country and would have initiated a large number of welfare project schemes.

To members of the Central and State Social Welfare Boards and to all the workers, I would like to offer my felicitations. They have chosen for themselves a role which is unassuming and a work which has neither glamour nor brings easy fame. Yet these very seemingly negative attributes have, in my view, vested this work

with uncommon importance both from the national and human points of view. This kind of constructive work is a reward in itself. When we have succeeded in making India a Welfare State, as I am sure we are determined to do, there is no doubt your efforts will be counted as a valuable contribution towards making the life of our future generations better and richer.

I wish your Conference all success.

THE TRIBAL PEOPLE*

I need hardly tell you how happy I feel in being in your midst this evening. I have been looking forward to this visit for more than a year. I was to have visited this beautiful part of the country sometime last year. Partly on account of ill-health at that time and partly on account of several preoccupations during the latter period, I was not able to fulfil this wish until today. My pleasure is all the greater because I had to meet some difficulties even on this occasion. Fortunately they were all overcome, and today I find myself in your midst.

My desire to come here was due very largely to the fact that I was anxious to meet you and to know your condition at first hand. This area like some other areas in this Province was sealed to us and we were not permitted to come here. I know that even in 1947 when the Constituent Assembly was meeting in Delhi and I had appointed a Committee with the late Chief Minister of this State—Shri Gopinath Bardoloi—as its Chairman, the Committee was not allowed to enter some parts of this Province. Therefore, I made up my mind then that as soon as it was possible, I should pay a visit to these parts and see some of the places which were previously banned. I am, therefore, happy that I have at last been able to fulfil that wish. Although the Constituent Assembly could not send its Sub-Committee to these parts, it was not negligent of your interests.

* Reply to address of welcome presented at Tura (Garo Hills, Assam), 18 February, 1954.

The Constitution-makers took special care to make suitable provisions for the governance of this area. Our anxiety was to see that you make progress as quickly as possible.

I am not one of those who look upon the tribal people as backward. I know you have your own customs, your own culture, your own way of life. We are anxious that you should progress and do so in your own special way. India is a vast country. We have any number of religions, any number of systems of life and any number of customs. It is this variegated picture of India that we have in view. Just as in a beautiful structure, you have got any number of stones and bricks collected and pieced together, here in India we have got so many kinds of people all living together. Each brick has its own individuality but all the bricks put together constitute the building. We want the beauty of the building to be found in the India of our dreams. That can be done only if the structure as a whole is maintained and preserved. At the same time it is equally necessary that each brick should also be preserved in its entirety. Therefore, we want all the variegated people inhabiting this vast country to feel as one.

It is after a long time that we have become independent and attained complete freedom. We are now free to build our house in the way we like. I want you to realize that each one of you is now the ruler not only of one corner of India but of India as a whole. I have been elected President of the country as a whole. Anyone of you can be elected like me to this high position. There is no bar, there is no restriction. You have to win it by your own service and by your love of the country. I am hoping that the day is not far off when the so-called backward people will come to occupy the highest positions in society. I would, therefore, earnestly request you to consider what great achievement has been made by our attaining independence.

I have heard with great interest what you have said about your requirements and needs. I am not surprised. I would have been surprised if you had not told me of that. It is a happy sign that you have begun to feel that you know something and you have got somebody to whom you can make that demand. I was somewhat surprised when I was told, while coming to this place this morning, that no Head of the State had ever visited these parts before. Well, whatever might have happened in the past, you must rest assured that your interest will be the interest of the country as a whole. It is realized that the greatest need of this part of the

country at the present moment is improvement in communications and means of transport. As a result of the Partition, Assam as a Province was cut off from the rest of the country as the railway line which linked it with the rest of India passed through Pakistan. The Government of India, therefore, naturally thought that the first priority should be given to the linking of Assam with the rest of the country by means of a railway which passes through Indian territory and not through Pakistan. That was done in record time by our Railway Department. In the course of my present visit, I have travelled to this part on that railway line.

The Government is also aware that you need a railway to link this part with, say, Goalpara or Dhubri. The matter is under active consideration and a survey is going to be made. Once it is done, many industries will develop here as you say. The Government is giving also a high priority to the making of the roads to connect these parts with other parts of Assam and outlying areas. I was told that if I had come last year as proposed, I would have found the journey to this place a little more difficult than it has been today. That means that within this year communications have been improved to some extent. That is symbolical of the desire of the Government to connect all parts of your State with the rest of the country.

Assam is one of the most beautiful parts of India. Here we have the biggest river and sprawling mountains, green fields and big dense forests. All these go to make this part of the country beautiful, but they also make communications difficult. We are trying and, we hope, we shall succeed in maintaining the beauty and at the same time improving the communications. The Communications Ministry has under contemplation the opening up here of a number of post offices and telegraph offices. It is also proposed to have landing grounds for aircraft in convenient places where other means of communication cannot be opened.

When the Partition came more than six years ago, the country was in a very difficult position regarding food. We were importing a huge quantity of foodgrains from foreign countries. Thank God, we are now nearly out of the wood and are able to produce enough for our needs. In the same way we hope we shall be able to surmount other difficulties which still confront us. That has been possible because the people as a whole have realized the importance of self-sufficiency in the matter of food. They have all helped in producing more. There is no dearth of cloth now in the

country. I am hoping that any other difficulties that we still have will be solved without much delay. After all, our independence is only six years old and what was not achieved, not even thought of, for such a long time has been achieved within this period. I would, therefore, earnestly ask you to devote all your energies to the betterment of your own conditions through the Council which has been established here.

A Constitution can be only what its people want it to be. If you make good use of the Constitutional provisions, you will find they are good enough for you. You may rest assured that the Government of India and the Government of Assam will ever be ready to give you such assistance and help as you need. We know the difficulties which you have to face and the Government of India have been trying to help you. The opportunities that you have now got are of great value. They place your destinies in your own hands and we are ready to give you such assistance as you require.

You have mentioned the services of the missionaries. I am glad to be able to bear testimony to the very good work that the missionaries have been doing in various parts of the country. I have before this borne testimony to this fact on several occasions. I am, therefore, not surprised that you have spoken so highly of them. I would only suggest most respectfully one consideration for them. All of us, whether Christians or non-Christians, appreciate their services. But as Mahatma Gandhi used to say, we would have appreciated their services all the more if they had not been conditioned by one thing and rendered purely out of love for you and not with a view to conversion. But that is a point which they have to consider. Our *Gita* tells us that our objective should be to do, to serve, leaving the results in God's hands. It tells us not to hanker for results but only to serve. If the service had been rendered in that spirit, it would have been still more welcome. Our Constitution pledges itself to give freedom to every individual in the country to have any faith he likes. A Christian is as dear to India as a Hindu or a Muslim or a follower of any other religion. We know too that a Christian regards himself as an Indian as much as a Hindu does. That has been one of our great points not only now but since time immemorial.

To you who live in these hills, it is not necessary to point out that for reaching a peak you can go by several routes. We want everyone to feel that the peak is his and he can reach it by any

route that he chooses. Therefore there can be no objection to any Christian preaching Christianity to Indian Christians or even to non-Christians and the Government is determined to give full effect to these provisions of the Constitution. I know that for some time past some kind of agitation with regard to missionaries has been going on. There is no objection to any Christian preaching his religion. If any objection has been taken, that is not due to the preaching of Christianity, but due to other kinds of activities which some of them have been allegedly carrying on. There is even less objection to any social service which anyone has to render to the people. But at the same time, we expect that those who come to our country for this purpose, will confine their activities to preaching alone and if that is done, there can be and there will be no difficulty whatsoever.

You have been good enough to give me a number of valuable things as presents. I am glad you have chosen things which are peculiar to this part of the country. I have accepted them all as token of your love, not for me personally but for the office I hold and the country I represent, and they will form part of the decorations at Rashtrapati Bhavan.

I thank you once again for all the enthusiasm and the love which you have displayed and I wish you all success in the great work which you here as members of the Council have undertaken for the service of the people.

HIND KUSHT NIVARAN SANGH

Annual General Meeting

Presidential Address

19 April, 1955

I am glad to see the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh, with its many branches on the State and district level, focussing attention on the problem of leprosy and bringing about the much-needed change in outlook of the public on it.

It is good that we have planned the fight against this disease on a national scale and that the Government have formulated the National Leprosy Control Programme. It is gratifying to note that the leading voluntary organisations connected with leprosy work, the Mission to Lepers, the Gandhi Memorial Leprosy Foundation and the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh are in agreement with the Government on the principles of the control programme. In the present phase of our national development, close collaboration between governmental effort and voluntary effort is most desirable, and more especially in the field of humanitarian and social endeavour. In work of the kind in which you are engaged, where constructive effort has to replace apathy and neglect, and where so much will depend on the people's understanding of what we propose to do, governmental work and voluntary work will have to grow side by side in mutual understanding and co-operation.

In our work for leprosy, I believe the three major requisites are knowledge, money and personnel. It has been stated that though we have still to learn many things about leprosy, we know enough on which to base a plan of attack on the disease. It was also stated that efforts are being made to increase our knowledge of the disease and that the Central Leprosy Teaching and Research Institute has been established. As for money, provision for governmental work has been made in the Five-Year Plan. I appeal to philanthropists and indeed to the citizens in general to come forward to foster the growth of voluntary work in this most compassionate service.

The third item—personnel—is the most important requisite and the most difficult to obtain. But in this land of ours, rich with traditions of sacrifice and service, the challenge and charm of a much-needed service like yours will not go unheeded. Leprosy work stirred Gandhiji deeply. He once said that leprosy work was much more than medical relief, and that the aim of the work was deeper and nothing less than the transformation of life's values. The world today is desperately in need of conversion to a true sense of the value of life. It is your opportunity and glory that in your work you are constantly affirming the true values of life and that your work and life are a continual witness to the everpresent possibility of finding one's happiness in the happiness of others. You have my warmest congratulations and good wishes.

RED CROSS SOCIETY

Annual General Meeting

Presidential Address

19 April, 1955

I am glad to welcome this evening the representatives of Red Cross and St. John Ambulance Association to this meeting. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has given us a very interesting account of the excellent services performed by these two organisations, whose aims and objects are beyond controversy and deserve every one's support.

The St. John Ambulance Association as well as the Brigade have made good progress during 1954 both in the increase in number of those trained in First Aid and allied subjects and in the formation of a record number of new Ambulance Divisions. The strength of Nursing Divisions, however, still remains low and I endorse Rajkumari's call to our ladies to take to training in First Aid and Home Nursing so that they can play their natural and legitimate role in ministering to the sick and the injured. It is a pleasure to see evidence of increasing interest being taken by the railway, transport and police personnel in First Aid training. Such training is bound to make them more useful to the public they serve.

The natural disaster in the shape of floods that struck vast tracts of North Eastern India during the year demanded relief measures on an unprecedented scale and the Indian Red Cross Society deserves credit for its splendid relief work in flood-affected areas of Assam, Bihar, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh, where surmounting difficulties of distance, large quantities of relief supplies were rapidly rushed for distribution among the distressed. The substantial assistance generously given by sister Societies at this time of need provided another proof of the fundamental unity that animates the Red Cross movement.

It is also gratifying that our Society was able to extend help to national Red Cross Societies faced with disaster in other parts of the world.

I am glad to observe that the Society was able to continue unhampered its normal activities for the civilian public and the

defence personnel. Its work in providing amenity stores to patients in Service hospitals and in looking after permanently disabled ex-servicemen at the Bangalore Red Cross Home deserves high praise. Commendable also is the provision of medical aid to ex-servicemen through the Society's Medical After-Care Fund.

The welfare of the children is the welfare of the coming generation, an indispensable condition of national progress on which the hearts of so many of our earnest thinkers and workers are set. The importance of the Society's Maternity and Child Welfare Bureau's activities in providing valuable services designed to ensure proper care of the baby and the mother cannot, therefore, be exaggerated. I am glad that the sphere of the Bureau's pioneering activities has been extended to the distant and backward areas of Tehri-Garhwal in Uttar Pradesh.

It is a source of satisfaction to note the continued development of the Junior Red Cross movement for we look forward to it to sow the seeds of Red Cross principles in the receptive minds of the youth of the country.

I feel happy that the Indian Red Cross has been taking an active part in international Red Cross gatherings and that it has been consistently making a valuable contribution towards the furtherance of the cause of peace.

It is pleasing to hear that last year's fund raising campaign has considerably increased the strength of the Society's membership. There is, however, still a great gap between the number of members and our country's population and it is, therefore, my earnest wish that in subsequent years greater improvement may be shown in enrolment of members.

It is your privilege to belong to an organisation whose sole aim is service to humanity. Innumerable individual acts of kindness throughout the ages have linked together into a lengthy chain encircling the world under the banner of the Red Cross. The sentiment of humanity is a noble trait and it will and should always express itself in spontaneous generosity. The Red Cross canalizes this sentiment and translates it into beneficent activities for the relief of suffering humanity, without making any distinction based on religion, class, community or politics. I feel certain, therefore, that the Indian Red Cross Society will receive ample support and liberal co-operation from all classes of people in the country.

BHARAT SEVAK SAMAJ*

I am very happy to be able to inaugurate the Second Conference of the Hyderabad Bharat Sevak Samaj. It is a matter for gratification that in your State the Bharat Sevak Samaj is an active organization. During the last three years it has done quite good work here. It has constructed a number of roads, opened several schools and hospitals, and helped victims of natural calamities. All these things are certainly of great importance.

Although all the items of work falling under the First Five-Year Plan are of importance, I attach special significance to the establishment of the Bharat Sevak Samaj, because it is an entirely voluntary and non-official organization. Its only connection with the Government is that it was created at its suggestion. Throughout my life I have been connected with non-official organizations, and it is my firm belief that such organizations can enlist public co-operation and go ahead with public work with far greater ease and speed than any Government department can. In the case of a country like India which has been liberated from foreign rule after centuries of slavery, and where the people need to be enthused and educated in order to take up the work of reconstruction, an organization such as yours becomes an essential limb of developmental programme. We have to establish in India a Welfare State in which the well-being of the masses will be the final touchstone of all governmental policies and programmes. We have to wage a war on disease and poverty and defeat privation. We want that every citizen of free India, irrespective of the place he belongs to and irrespective of his caste or religion, gets equal opportunities and equal rights as a citizen. We want that all those people who belong to the scheduled tribes or scheduled classes should come up to the level of other people so that, among Indian citizens, no one might be said to be backward.

The Bharat Sevak Samaj can do a lot by explaining these objectives to the people. Being a non-official organization, it can make easy headway in this direction. I have not the least doubt that when all our Plans have been implemented and a real Welfare

* Inaugural address at the second annual conference at Kothagudem (Hyderabad), 4 July, 1955.

State in India is established, the contribution of the Bharat Sevak Samaj will be remembered with gratitude in creating consciousness and enthusiasm among the people.

I congratulate the Hyderabad Bharat Sevak Samaj and its Kamam District Branch on the constructive work which they have done so far. Let us not assess the value of this work in terms of miles of road constructed or the number of schools and hospitals opened. Actually its importance transcends mere arithmetical calculations. This work is a veritable torch for the people of the State. This is a torch which the people know as having been lighted by their own efforts. Electricity or any other kind of light, however bright or fluorescent, is no match for such a torch which dispels the double darkness of ignorance and poverty. No one can take so enthusiastically to things offered or presented to him as to things created by his own effort. I would, therefore, urge you to continue the good work which you have been doing, and I have every hope that before long the Bharat Sevak Samaj will have become a nation-wide movement and a powerful instrument for bringing into being a New India.

ADIMJATI SEVAK SANGH*

I am happy to be able to participate in this first Conference of the Hyderabad State Adimjati Sevak Sangh and congratulate the workers on convening it. I have had an opportunity of going round the other States of India which have large population of Adivasis. I have been to parts of Rajasthan, Vindhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, etc., and have come into contact with the aborigines of these areas. There is a fairly large population of Adivasis in the Hyderabad State. This is the first time I am coming into contact with them.

* Inaugural address at Kothagudem Conference, 5 July, 1955.

As I have been closely connected with the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, I am familiar with most of the problems of the Adivasis. I know that improving their lot is an uphill task, but at the same time, it is very essential and urgent. As laid down in our Constitution, we have to uplift these people so that they can come up to the social and economic level of the more advanced sections of Indian society. A very important place has, therefore, been assigned to this matter in our Constitution, and several constructive suggestions have been made for uplifting these classes.

Although this is the first Conference of the Adivasis of the Hyderabad State, I am glad to know that the popular Government of the State has felt concerned about this problem from the time it took up office, and has taken several important steps to solve it. It has set up a separate department for improving the social and economic conditions of the Adivasis and other backward classes. That bears testimony, I believe, to the progress that has been made in this direction during the last two or three years. Details of the work which Shri H. C. Heda has given in his speech, are quite satisfying. I know that the problem of improving the lot of the Adivasis is as complicated as it is old and that its roots go very deep. Whatever you have been able to do in the State is purely elementary, but it is important because at least a good beginning has been made. I am sure that the State Government will fully cooperate with the Centre and render it all possible help in order to accelerate the speed of this work. I see no reason why the Government should withhold cooperation when the objectives of the Centre and the State Government are identical, namely, improving the condition of the Adivasis. As for the paucity of workers, I agree that it is the most important problem. For a work of this nature devoted and selfless workers are the first requisite. Hyderabad is, however, a big State, and I believe it should not be found difficult to get good workers from its people who are imbued with the spirit of service. I would advise the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangha that by its devotion to this work it should inspire the people so that it can get proper workers in required numbers. Greater attention in this direction, I feel, will bring success. In my view, great sanctity attaches to this work because it involves the clearing of centuries-old cobwebs and improving the lot of a long-suppressed section of the Indian population. The tradition of

service and helping the weak is very old in our country. Given a proper approach, I feel certain that the required number of workers should be forthcoming.

I would like to say a few words to the office-bearers and workers of the Adimjati Sevak Sangh. They should go to the Adivasis in a spirit of modesty and equality. If, for any reason, these people get the impression that we are helping them out of pity or because we consider ourselves more advanced than they, you can be sure that your efforts will hardly bear fruit. It is after all a fact that it is not in the feeling of pity that the spirit of our action lies. If the Adivasis have remained backward for ages, it is none of their fault. Without going into the question as to who is to blame for it, let us explain to them the changed conditions which obtain today. Let us tell them that India is now a free country in which every citizen, including the Adivasis, has equal rights. This is possible only if we develop a sympathetic attitude towards them, an attitude which does not smack of superiority. We should also be sympathetic towards the customs and traditions of these people. Then alone will the prospect of economic and social improvement attract these people.

You have also said that in the matter of the Community Projects and the National Extension Service programmes, the Adivasi areas have to fulfil those very conditions which are applicable to other parts of the country, and that this means a disability for these people because they cannot compete with more advanced sections of society in raising the stipulated amount of voluntary subscription. I am sure if you put this difficulty before the Hyderabad Government and the Government of India, they would give it full consideration. There is no doubt that in the matter of raising voluntary subscriptions the Adivasis work under a handicap because of their poverty and lack of resources. It should not, therefore, be difficult to secure special facilities for the Adivasis in this connection.

I believe Government will give a sympathetic consideration to the various difficulties which you have mentioned. I offer you my best wishes for your success in this important work. Let me hope that as a result of your efforts the Adivasis of Hyderabad State will march forward on the way to prosperity and that the rays of the sun of Independence will illumine their remote hamlets and hill abodes.

‘BHARAT RATNA’ JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

We have assembled this evening to express our joy at the safe return of our Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, from a strenuous tour in different countries of Europe. I am grateful to Your Excellencies for responding to my invitation at short notice. We have followed with avidity and eagerness the news of the splendid welcome which has been extended to our Prime Minister by the Governments and peoples of the various countries which he visited. It shows, as our Prime Minister has said, the high esteem in which our country is held by the great countries of the world.

We are an ancient country but a very young republic and it is a matter of gratification to us to know how its activities and policy for the establishment and maintenance of peace are being appreciated and how they have raised our honour and prestige. We hold and believe that peace is necessary for the welfare and prosperity of all the peoples of the world, and more so in this age of great scientific achievements and invention of weapons which have left before humanity the choice between renunciation of war and total destruction of mankind. In upholding and supporting the cause of peace, we have been voicing in our own humble way the yearnings of hundreds of millions of men and women all the world over, and no wonder our Prime Minister, who has been the chief architect of that policy of ours in this age, has been the recipient of such ovations.

I have been wondering how the people of this country can express their gratitude to him in a concrete form so that all might see how the entire nation is behind him in this great endeavour. His lifelong services to our nation are written in letters of gold on every page of our recent history, and this the latest phase in his great career as a heroic endeavour in the cause of peace for mankind has served to embellish gold or, as our proverb says, added more beauty and charm to it by giving it a sweet scent. I have felt that I can do no better than conferring on him the award of BHARAT RATNA which is the highest award of honour that we have. In doing so, for once, I may be said to be acting unconstitutionally, as I am taking this step on my own initiative and without any

* Speech delivered on the occasion of the decoration of Jawaharlal Nehru with Bharat Ratna, 15 July, 1955.

recommendation or advice from my Prime Minister; but I know that my action will be endorsed most enthusiastically not only by my Cabinet and other Ministers but by the country as a whole.

I would request you all to join me in wishing him many happy years of health and vigour so that he may serve still more his country and the world at large.

GANDHI VIDYA MANDIR SARDARSHAHR (RAJASTHAN)

Foundation-stone Laying Ceremony

28 August, 1955

I am thankful to you for having invited me to lay the foundation-stone of the Gandhi Vidya Mandir and thereby giving me an opportunity to express my views on a subject which interests me very much. The great name which is associated with this institution is deserving of our homage as also the lofty ideals which you propose to follow here.

The impress which Mahatma Gandhi has left on Indian politics is so indelibly deep that the contribution of his great personality in other spheres of life is sometimes lost sight of. Many people believe that Gandhiji was a revolutionary only in the political field. Those who have had the good fortune of coming into close contact with him know that he was also responsible for bringing about a revolution in our system of education. Whatever Gandhiji did, he always kept the practical side of things in view. Mere theory had no place in his thinking. He knew that India was predominantly an agricultural country and more than 80 per cent of her population lived in villages. He, therefore, made the village the most important centre of his activity. In whatever sphere he worked, whether politics, social reform, cottage industries, removal of untouchability or education, he always kept in mind the fact that a large majority of Indians lived in villages. It was his convic-

tion that no public movement or reform of any kind could succeed in India unless the cooperation of the rural population was enlisted.

It was as a result of this conviction that the basic system of education took birth in Wardha. Without going into the merits or demerits of this system of education, I would only like to say that this system is entirely in consonance with the requirements and the way of living of Rural India. Those who receive their education according to this system will not, after completing their education, think of running to the towns or adding to the ranks of the unemployed in this country.

Whenever an opportunity has arisen, I have expressed my views on the present system of education. This system was evolved by our foreign rulers, keeping certain aims in view. The most important of these aims was to enlist the co-operation of the educated classes for maintaining the British hold over our country as long as possible. Now that we are free, there is no need to circumscribe the aims of education. The old system has become altogether obsolete and useless and must be discarded. Free India needs a system of education which, besides being indigenous, may help the people in their day-to-day life.

If we accept the proposition that our system of education should be such as to maintain the closest touch with our needs and ways of life, then we will have to mould it in accordance with the requirements of our predominantly rural population. This obviously means that we will have to adopt the basic system of education which can prove of the greatest benefit to our village people.

I am very happy to learn that the institution, Gandhi Vidya Mandir, which you have started with your own efforts, will impart the basic type of education. Judging from the earnestness and determination with which Shri Kanhaiya Lal Dugar, Acharya Gauri Shankar and their other colleagues have brought this institution into being, I feel sure that it will become in course of time one of the leading educational institutions of Rajasthan.

Besides adopting the basic system of education, you have also formulated an excellent curriculum and syllabus for the various classes and I am sure the students of this area will be attracted towards them. While keeping the aims of higher education in view, you have introduced some special subjects of study in keeping with the practical requirements of your area. I have no doubt these subjects will become popular among the students. In this

institution you have arranged for the education of small children as well as adults. I am sure the people of this area will derive great advantage from the training in dairying, farming, forestry, etc., which you have provided. In spite of your limited resources, the wide choice which you have provided in the selection of subjects is indeed a matter for deepest congratulation for everyone connected with the Gandhi Vidya Mandir. I consider it a great constructive effort.

Your institution has doubtless a bright future. Perhaps it will not be proper to call it a university; nor does that seem necessary because a university has its own restricted definition which is determined by Government's rules and regulations. My advice to you is to carry on with the solid work you have taken in hand without bothering about the name.

May this institution confer the boon of education on the people of Rajasthan and may the great name associated with it inspire the people of this State with the ideals of patriotism and public service! I wish all success to this Vidyalaya and hope that as a result of the combined efforts of you all, it will soon become a great centre of education.

C. RAJAM*

I am grateful to the Council of Management of the Madras Institute of Technology for their asking me to come here today to unveil the bust of the late Shri C. Rajam, founder of this Institute. It has provided me a welcome opportunity to know at first hand the useful work that this Institute has been doing for the last six years in the field of higher technological education.

It has pleased me immensely to know of the excellent start that the Madras Institute of Technology has made and the hopes it has raised in scientific and industrial circles. Its distinctive features, to which reference has been made in the Report of the Director of

* Speech made on the occasion of the unveiling of the bust of the late C. Rajam, founder of the Madras Institute of Technology, Madras, 14 November, 1955.

the Institute, compel attention. By laying emphasis on the practical application of the scientific principles to technology and by insisting on practical work in workshops and laboratories in the course of training, you have, without doubt, done a great service to education in general and technological education in particular. For a variety of reasons there has been a tendency of late to ignore the practical aspect of education, including vocational training and thus leave the students to learn things for themselves in the school of life. Eventually, no doubt, most of the things have to be learnt by practical experience after one has taken to technology as a vocation, but practical training in a laboratory workshop before taking up a technical career makes all the difference. I know that the ordinary non-technical education in this country is vitiated, to a large extent, by too much emphasis on mere learning or theoretical knowledge. It will be a great pity if this wrong emphasis infects scientific and technical education also. The criticism that is generally levelled against the present system of education obtaining in India today is primarily due to the fact that education as such is getting more and more divorced from actual life and its calls and requirements. This, in turn, is responsible for ever-increasing unemployment among the educated classes. I do not see any hope of breaking this vicious circle without shifting the emphasis from theoretical to the practical aspect of education. The basic education of Gandhiji's conception has found so much support in educational circles only because it holds out a hope of our deliverance from the drawbacks of mere bookish education.

I have digressed a little. We are concerned here mainly with technical and scientific education, which your institute provides. As I just now said, you have done a service to the cause of technology in India by laying emphasis on the practical application of scientific knowledge to technology. I know what becomes of scientific knowledge when for one reason or the other, it is found difficult to apply it to the relevant sphere in actual life. Take the case of agricultural research. In India, we have adequate facilities of giving advanced training to young men in the various branches of agriculture. Till some time back, it was a problem for the Government how to utilise this advanced knowledge by applying it in practice to agriculture in the country. It was realised that without doing so, agricultural research and training were hardly of much use. In recent years, a good deal of success has been achieved in this sphere and the valuable results of the researches in the laboratories have



• Distributing awards at the inauguration of the International Exhibition on low-cost housing at New Delhi



At the Ayurvedic and Tibbia College, Delhi



Presenting a special medal to Mount Everest hero Tensing



Conferring the award of Bharat Ratna on Sri Jawaharlal Nehru

been carried to the cultivator in the field. The same, I believe, holds good of technical education in other spheres. By realising the importance of practical training and the application of technological knowledge to industries you have already guarded yourselves against the shortcomings that I have just referred to.

Though founded by the late Shri C. Rajam and, perhaps, originally intended to cater to the needs of the Madras State, I am glad the Institute has come to acquire an all-India character and that students from all the States are admitted for training in it.

It is somewhat depressing to know that you have not been able to proceed with the expansion work of the Institute on account of paucity of funds. Seeing, however, the tangible results which you have achieved and the high opinion in which the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and the Union Ministry of Education hold your Institute, I feel confident that the good work that you are doing will not be allowed to suffer for shortage of funds.

I join Shri C. R. Srinivasan in complimenting the founder of this Institute, the late Shri C. Rajam. But for his spirit of service and sacrifice and the great interest he displayed in the development of technological education, this institute would not have come into being. We owe it, therefore, as much to his memory as to the young students who would be coming here for training and whom I would like to be inspired by Shri C. Rajam's example, to erect a memorial to him. Let his spirit of service, his sincerity of purpose and his keen interest in industrial development be the guiding light of all those who join this institute for receiving or imparting training in technology.

With these words, I would like to unveil the bust of the late Shri C. Rajam with the greatest pleasure.

G. V. MAVLANKAR*

I have received with deep grief the sad news of the passing away of Shri Mavlankar. It has been my privilege to have known

* Broadcast to the nation on G. V. Mavlankar's death, New Delhi, 27 February, 1956.

him ever since the early days of the Non-cooperation Movement, if not earlier, more than thirty-five years ago. Apart from the great interest which he took in the political movement and in the struggle for freedom, in the course of which he suffered imprisonment on several occasions, he was deeply interested in many institutions of social service. He achieved remarkable success in Ahmedabad not only at the Bar and in Congress circles, but also in other fields and activities in which he participated. He became the Speaker of the Bombay Assembly and made his mark there. It was his success in that capacity which induced the Members of the Central Legislature to elect him as the Speaker. Ever since he came here, he became an indispensable part of that institution. Every member of the Lok Sabha who joined in paying a tribute to his memory this morning, expressed his Party's confidence not only in his ability and integrity, but also in the way he conducted the proceedings. He had earned a position for himself as a great Speaker not only in this country, but also in Parliamentary circles of the Commonwealth. He was thorough in whatever he undertook. He enjoyed the confidence of all classes of people and was unhesitatingly and unanimously put in charge of the largest public trusts which have been created by the public in this country. As the President of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and the Kasturba Trust and so many other institutions engaged in social service, his activities were of a very varied nature and spread practically over the whole country through the institutions run by these various Trusts. He never spared himself, and although it was wellknown that his health was not too good, he was touring for the greater part of the time he was not sitting in Parliament either visiting various institutions with which he was connected or holding meetings and discussions relating to Parliamentary work. His loss will be deeply felt not only in the Lok Sabha but also in a very much larger circle of friends, associates and co-workers interested in social service.

When the news of his sudden illness came some days ago, we naturally became anxious, but later news were somewhat reassuring and we were hoping that he might be spared to serve the people and the country. But to our great misfortune that was not to be, and he has been taken away creating a void in our public life which it will be difficult to fill.

AYURVEDIC AND UNANI SYSTEMS OF MEDICINE*

I am very happy to be present today at the anniversary of this old institution, the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbia College of Delhi and to meet you all. Most of us are familiar with the high ideals of Hakim Ajmal Khan who founded this institution 35 years ago and the service which this college and the attached hospital have been rendering to the public. Hakim Ajmal Khan, who achieved extraordinary success as a Unani physician, was also a leader of great qualities. It was his desire, as Col. Zaidi has pointed out, that these indigenous systems of medicine should move forward and progress with the times and not remain static. As long as he lived, Hakim Ajmal Khan kept this ideal before him and tried to mould this institution accordingly. His sudden and untimely death proved calamitous for this college and after the partition of the country it had almost ceased to exist. Thanks to the financial help given by the Delhi Government and the zeal of its managing body and the co-operation of the public, the college has once again started functioning properly. But it has yet to reach the heights it had once touched during the lifetime of Hakim Ajmal Khan. Its proof lies in the fact that in those days 500 boys and more than 100 girls received education here whereas now the total of students on its rolls is just 250. It is very necessary to expand the Research Department and the hospital. Col. Zaidi and Shri Sircar have dwelt on this point at some length. It is the duty of all public-spirited men to help the institution to get over its shortcomings if only to enable it to translate into action the aspirations of its founder.

To be able to enlist public co-operation and Government help, it is essential to remove the present drawbacks and to introduce whatever changes are deemed necessary in the curriculum. Modern scientific methods should be adopted without the least hesitation wherever possible and desirable. Selection of herbs and preparation of standard medicines from them so that the composition of a medicine is clearly indicated, is equally essential. Some Ayurvedic physicians prescribe medicines prepared by them and are unwilling

* Speech at the annual function of the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbia College, Delhi, 31 March, 1956.

to prescribe the same medicines prepared elsewhere because they have no faith in them. Indigenous herbs, whatever the source they are obtained from, also suffer from the lack of standardization. All these shortcomings have to be removed if these systems of medicine have to progress.

There was a time when the Government of this country recognised only allopathy and looked upon the indigenous systems of medicine as obsolete and unscientific. There might be some truth in this belief, because Ayurvedic and the Unani systems never received the encouragement at the hands of the Government which the allopathic system got, so much so that even our educated classes lost faith in them. But a large section of the Indian population, particularly the people in the countryside, continued to patronise Ayurvedic and the Unani systems. It was so not entirely because of the non-availability of modern hospital facilities in the villages but also because these people had a faith in the indigenous system of medicine. The situation has changed to some extent during the last ten years and these systems have been assigned a place in our health expansion schemes. I am not comparing the different systems of medicine. All that I want to say is that each one of these systems has its own peculiarities and its own merits. Millions of people have benefited from the indigenous systems and even today good many of them, particularly those who live in the villages, patronise these old systems of medicine. There is ample scope for all these systems in free India. I think that the indigenous systems also deserve encouragement and State patronage. On Ayurvedic and Unani systems, research, hospitals, etc., we are spending much less than on the expansion and propagation of allopathy and its research and educational institutions. Our sole object should be to raise the standard of public health, and I feel, whatever the programme we chalk out to achieve that objective, Ayurvedic and Unani systems can easily and with advantage find a place in it. The indigenous systems are also less expensive and do away with our dependence on foreign countries. The raw material from which indigenous medicines are made is available in our country itself.

Just like the town of Delhi, this college of yours has also seen vicissitudes of fortune during its existence of 35 years. I am glad that the Government of Delhi State helped you so that this institution could be revived after having remained suspended for a few years. I must admire the sense of duty and the zeal of the govern-

ing body of this college. They did not lose hope even in the most difficult circumstances and throughout remained busy pushing this welfare activity started by the late Hakim Ajmal Khan. I wish you all success and hope that this college will make progress and have a fruitful career in the service of the people.

LOKMANYA BAL GANGADHAR TILAK*

Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who was born this day 100 years ago, will go down in history as one of the foremost builders of the Indian nation. He flourished in an age when nationalism in its present sense had not yet permeated the atmosphere in this country and when to think in terms of the Indian people and the future of the Indian nation was more in the nature of an exception rather than a rule. Actually in the eighties of the last century, educated people who spurned offers of cushy Government jobs and sought to engage themselves in what they thought was public service, must have run the risk of being termed cynics. Nevertheless, Lokmanya Tilak's intellectual stature as also his patriotic fervour spontaneously prompted him to opt in favour of service of the people and the country. It was his example, his ideas and his writings which inspired the latter-day Congress leaders and gave them not only their ideology but also their principal slogan, "Swaraj is our birth right".

A man of indomitable courage and as one wedded to free thinking at the very start of his public career, the life story of Lokmanya Tilak forms an inspiring prelude to our struggle for freedom. Unluckily, fate removed him from the political scene just when Gandhiji had succeeded in queering the pitch and mobilizing the country to launch the first Civil Disobedience Movement. Even though he passed away at that critical juncture, the work he had done in earlier years and the awakening he had succeeded in bring-

* Broadcast talk on the occasion of the Tilak Centenary celebrations, Delhi, 23 July, 1956.

ing about among the people, particularly the lower middle classes, were our great assets.

To the future historian of India Lokmanya Tilak will be known best as a towering personality and a great national leader who not only conceived the idea of *Purna Swaraj* but also thought in terms of revolution. After a few years' public work he was convinced that the real and the only remedy of our ills was independence and freedom from foreign bondage. Throughout his political career he kept this goal before him and sought guidance from it. He had the courage to suffer for his convictions at the hands of the British Government and his defence argument in one of his trials stands out as a masterpiece of forensic oratory combined with fervent patriotism. He set the example which was followed in such large numbers later on, particularly after his passing away, of readiness to take imprisonment and exile as rewards of a genuine patriot in the then prevailing conditions. He thus left for us a legacy on which the soldiers of the freedom struggle were able to build. Today we are in the happy position of seeing Lokmanya Tilak's dreams come true.

Though Lokmanya Tilak devoted nearly the whole of his life to public work and remained preoccupied with his journals through which he preached his ideals, he managed to find time for scholarly pursuits. He was a reputed scholar of Sanskrit and his commentary on the Bhagavad Gita which he wrote while serving a term of imprisonment, is even today one of the best-known commentaries on it. Not only that, whenever time permitted, he allowed himself excursions in the wider field of Indology and made valuable and notable contribution to Vedic studies and Hindu Astronomy generally. His service to learning and research was so great that if he had not been the political leader and fighter that he was, his memory would have been cherished by scholars for his original contributions.

On this day as our thoughts turn to that great Indian and we celebrate the centenary of his birth, let us learn from him the great art of thinking freely and acting courageously. On this happy occasion I send my greetings to all my countrymen and suggest to them to study the life of Lokmanya Tilak and draw inspiration from it.

INDIAN AND EASTERN NEWSPAPERS SOCIETY*

I welcome this opportunity of meeting all of you friends, connected with the Indian Press in such an intimate manner. On your Society are represented a large number of leading newspapers in the country and I take it that through cooperative effort the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society has well looked after the business interests of the member newspapers. Keeping in view the importance of the newspaper industry and the great power which newspapers as purveyors of news and framers of public opinion wield, it would be correct to say that your Society is concerned with a vital aspect of national life.

Like all other industries and, in fact, all the national activities, the newspapers are also called upon to adjust themselves to changing conditions from time to time. During our struggle for independence the nationalist Press played a great part which will ever be remembered by the nation with appreciation. After freedom the role of the Press may be said to have changed to a large extent. The foreign power withdrew and the accredited leaders of the people stepped in to take its place. It was but natural that the Press, at any rate a large section of it, should review its policy in view of this fundamental change, namely, preservation of the freedom already won. By and large our newspapers have conducted themselves creditably since independence. I am glad to say that they have not only strengthened the hands of authority and lent their support to it in matters of crucial national importance, but they have also not failed to be critical whenever independence of judgment or honest difference of opinion demanded it.

Whatever the editorial policy of a paper, in the ultimate analysis it must be judged by the fearless and honest expression of its views on matters of moment. Unstinted support to causes which deserve it and legitimate criticism of policies which merit it, is, I believe, the motto which an average reader would like the newspapers to follow. In a country where freedom of expression is guaranteed, by its impartial views and objective appraisal of things, the Press is expected to guide public opinion. This is a function

* Speech delivered on the occasion of the opening of the Building of the Society at New Delhi, 5 October, 1956.

as important as the dissemination of news and information among the people.

The newspaper industry in India is about 100 years old. During this period it has made rapid strides and gained considerably in power and influence so as to earn the title of the Fourth Estate. But when we compare the Indian Press with the Press in other advanced countries, we seem to be far behind them in respect of most of the developmental aspects, particularly circulation. Low percentage of literacy in this country is the principal cause of inadequate circulation of newspapers. It is gratifying, however, that lately circulation figures of most of the papers have shown improvement. Now that literacy is gradually spreading and Indian language newspapers are also forging ahead, I should think this upward trend will continue till our newspapers have reached a circulation comparable with that of the papers of other countries.

It would not be wrong to say that the newspaper industry is somewhat different from other productive industries. In fact, the only thing common between this industry and others is that both are run on commercial lines and come under a common denominator. But leaving aside this common factor, the newspaper industry seems to differ from other industries in many ways. None of the other industries carries with it such a heavy responsibility for national consolidation and giving expression to a people's views, aims and aspirations as the newspaper industry. Publication of newspapers and journals all over the world began, first of all, as a mission, as a means to propagate certain views. At that stage, the economic aspect of this business does not seem to have been in the picture. Gradually as the readership of papers and journals increased and as they began to be used as an advertisement medium, the commercial motive began to influence them, and consequent upon the employment of large number of hands and the dependence of production on expensive and up-to-date mechanical equipment, it came to be known as an industry. The motive of free service in a missionary spirit had by now been discarded as outmoded and unpractical. Perhaps this evolution of the newspaper industry is natural and in keeping with the spirit of the times. But even though publication of journals is now a full-fledged industry, it can never divest itself completely from a kind of moral tone and purposeful national service. It cannot, however, be denied that in order to grow to its rightful stature, the newspaper industry in India also needs all

those sinews in the form of resources which other industries have either already developed or are in the process of equipping themselves with. It is, therefore, in everyday's interest that this industry should grow and have a footing sounder than it has at present.

There has been a ferment in the newspaper world in this country in recent years. The requirements of the newspaper industry, the demands of the working journalists and the interests of the readers, all joined to press the need for a general review of the situation. The setting up of the Press Commission by the Government of India, the publication of its Report and Government's decision on its recommendations are all parts of the joint effort to tackle the situation. Let me hope these efforts yield a tangible result leading to the steady growth of the newspaper industry and the satisfaction of all the elements responsible for producing newspapers. I know, on the face of it, what I have said might sound simpler than actually it is, but I need not tell my enlightened audience that in all spheres of human activity, whether it is politics, industry or even administration, contending views and conflicting interests have to be reconciled in a spirit of give and take, keeping the national interests and the benefit of the society as a whole in view. I am not such a pessimist as to believe that people whose suggestions are not a little instrumental in solving big issues can fail to arrive at a satisfactory solution of their own problems. The new Acts which have been recently adopted by the Indian Parliament, seek to help the Press in this matter. I need hardly tell you that whatever the nature of the reform it seeks to introduce, a legislative measure can be effective only if it is worked in a co-operative spirit by the parties concerned. It is the spirit and not so much the letter of the law which counts in such matters. May I, in this connection, appeal to your Society to give a lead to the rest of the Press?

Before concluding I would like to advert to another matter. You represent the principal and without doubt the most influential section of Indian newspapers. Nearly all the leading and well-established papers in the country are represented on your organisation. I suggest that as far as possible you should also protect the interests of smaller or second-line newspapers, particularly of the Indian languages. I have no doubt that to do so would be in the larger interests of the country and the Press in India.

I am very glad to know that the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society has been able to have a building of its own to house its

offices. This is indeed a fine structure and is a testimony to the smooth and business-like conduct of the Society's affairs. I hope shifting eventually to its new premises would open a fresh chapter of progress in the career of the Society. I wish it and all its members the best of luck and prosperity.

I have great pleasure in declaring the building of the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society open.

MEMORIAL TO MARTYRS*

As President of India and in my capacity as a public man I have taken part in many public functions, addressed innumerable gatherings and inaugurated many a memorial. But I should not hesitate to confess that I am so intimately connected with the memorial to inaugurate which you have invited me today and also with the youngmen in whose memory it is being raised that I am finding it hard to suppress my emotions. Without taking into consideration the experience and age of those who participated in the 1942 movement in Bihar, I must say that all of them were and are my colleagues, since I too had the privilege of taking part in that agitation.

Some of us got an opportunity of working among the people, while some were arrested at the very start of the movement so that their activities remained confined within the four-walls of prisons. But some of us whose patriotic fervour raised them above the distinction between life and death, became targets for bullets during the very first phase of the agitation and thus died a hero's death. You will agree with me that these persons must be assigned the foremost place among those who have made sacrifices for the cause of the country. It is in the memory of such martyrs who laid down their lives unhesitatingly that this memorial has been raised. Today when we are luckily independent and the object for which those youngmen made the supreme sacrifice has been

* Inaugural Speech at the opening of the Bihar Martyrs' Memorial, Patna, 24 October, 1956.

achieved, it is our duty to keep the memory of those martyrs fresh in our minds and pay homage to them. Their courage and selfless love of the country will ever remain a source of inspiration for the people of Free India.

I still remember how the rejection by the British of the Indian leaders' demand had sent a wave of indignation throughout the country. Mahatma Gandhi and other nationalist leaders knew about the popular feeling in the country. They were keen to utilize India's man-power and this upsurge of enthusiasm in helping the Allied Nations who claimed to be fighting for democracy. It was possible only if India were declared a free country or at least her right to freedom accepted in principle. Unfortunately the Government of the United Kingdom failed to rise to the occasion. Far from acceding to our nationalist demand, the British authority decided to suppress by force the natural and logical aspirations of the Indian people. The foreign power lost sight of all the lessons of history. Agitation and conflict could be the only result of such an attitude. Hundreds of people lost their lives and hundreds of thousands suffered untold hardships as a result of the movement which followed.

When I review the history of the last fifty years, I feel proud of the part that Bihar has played in the country's struggle for freedom. This feeling of pride is not based merely on the fact that I too happen to belong to this State. The real reason for it is that I have been personally familiar with Bihar's public life and its movements during this half a century. It would be no exaggeration if, in all modesty, I say that my familiarity with Bihar's public life is not that of a distant observer but of one who has always been close to the political scene as an active participant in the drama of public life as it unfolded itself from time to time.

We can feel proud of the fact that the first experiment in the technique of Satyagraha was conducted by Gandhiji in Bihar. To all the subsequent movements and agitations, Bihar made its appropriate contribution. But there was one movement with which Bihar completely identified itself; and that was the campaign of August, 1942. As far as I know, and my information in this regard is fairly adequate, in our whole history of the freedom struggle, it would be difficult to find a parallel to the sacrifices made and hardships

suffered by the people of Bihar during the 1942 movement. Nevertheless, the basis of that movement was truly national and whatever Bihar did at that time forms a part of India's history. All these martyrs laid down their lives as Indians. Therefore, I feel that all that happened in Bihar during those months is a matter of pride not only for this State but for the whole country, and these brave youngmen are the true sons of India. Their memory can admit of no geographical bounds. It pervades the whole land of ours. Let us bow to those martyrs who sacrificed themselves in the name of India and for the glory of India. These patriots ended their worldly existence so that a new chapter in India's history may begin; they offered their lives so that the generations to come may breathe unfettered the air of freedom in this country.

The Government of Bihar deserve to be congratulated on all that they have done to perpetuate the memory of these martyrs. Man does not live by bread alone. He cannot ignore the sentiments and feelings on the foundation of which stands the edifice of human faith and traditions. It is from these that man derives inspiration. Again, it is these feelings which illumine his path in life. This memorial is no doubt made of bronze, but it is impossible to assess the value of the feelings and sentiments which sustain it in people's hearts.

I congratulate Shri Devi Prosad Rai Chaudhury, the famous artist, who has been responsible for designing and executing this inspiring piece of sculpture. Anyone who sees this memorial will be deeply impressed by the courage of these young men. We are thankful to Shri Rai Chaudhury for presenting that memorable event of 1942 with such accuracy and effect.

I offer my congratulations to the relatives of all the martyrs in whose memory we have built this memorial. This monument is a place of sacred pilgrimage. This is not, therefore, the occasion to offer sympathy to the bereaved families. Indeed the occasion demands that we felicitate them. May this memorial always instil courage and patriotism in the hearts of all Indians, is my prayer.

I have great pleasure in opening the Bihar Martyrs' memorial.

THE SERVANTS OF PEOPLE SOCIETY*

It has given me much pleasure to be present here today at this function of the Servants of the People Society with whose activities I have been familiar for the last 30 years. On the occasion of my visits to Lahore before the Partition, I often stayed at the Lajpat Rai Hall. The Servants of the People Society was hit hard by the Partition of the country as the entire immovable property of the Society was left in Pakistan. In the face of this calamitous happening the members of the Society have acted with exemplary patience and fortitude. Once again it can be hoped that as a result of the efforts of the Society it will be having its own House where its offices and library will be located and other public activities carried on. As an old admirer and supporter of the Servants of the People Society I feel very happy that the Society has been able to rehabilitate itself. On this occasion I congratulate all the members of the Society.

The object with which the late Lala Lajpat Rai founded the Servants of People Society, is still there intact, calling for fulfilment. Although our conditions and circumstances have changed a great deal, that lofty object still moves us. Lala Lajpat Rai was much influenced by the views of the late Shri G. K. Gokhale and agreed with him that politics and public work required whole-time paid workers as much as any other department of human activities and that part-time and amateur workers could not do justice to their work and to their country. It was, therefore, essential to have a number of whole-time national workers pledged to a life of poverty and sacrifice, who may be able to devote themselves to national work on mere subsistence allowance.

It has to be admitted that before 1947 the foremost duty of every public worker was to devote himself to political work, that is, to lend a helping hand to the freedom struggle. Now that we are a free country and the foreign rulers have withdrawn, the nature and complexion of political work have undergone a change. In our present-day conditions, preference should be given to social and nation-building work. The Government of India is pledged to establish a Welfare State in the country and all possible efforts are being made in all directions to achieve that end.

* Speech made at the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the Building of the Society at New Delhi, 22 November, 1956.

In spite of these efforts, however, no one familiar with our internal conditions can say that the efforts by non-official agencies or private individuals in the field of national reconstruction are now unnecessary, or that the utility of such organizations and individuals is today a whit less than before. On the other hand, I feel that independence has opened the way for all political workers for solid reconstructive work. The facilities which social and political workers are promised today were not available ever before in this country. What greater encouragement can there be for a public worker than that his views and work should evince a favourable response among the public and that he should be listened to with consideration? I believe that such a thing is possible today. Not only the public, but also the educated section of the society and the administrators are bound to welcome all such efforts because the work done by non-official agencies and institutions truly supplements governmental effort in the sphere of nation-building.

What I have said just now, I know, is nothing new for members of the Servants of People Society. The members of the Society have in all circumstances, favourable or otherwise, been working in fulfilment of their pledge of national service. The Servants of People Society has done commendable work in the fields of politics, social welfare, Harijan uplift, rural reconstruction, education, Hindi *prachar*, etc., before the Partition and even after it. The work done by members of the Society in the constitutional and parliamentary spheres is too well known. The contribution which they have made at the Centre and in the States by working in responsible positions is also widely known. This work of great national importance which is being done by them shows how useful such organizations can be in a nation's life. The training which organizations like the Servants of the People Society afford and the occasions of public service which they make available to their members are not only a matter of pride but also constitute valuable experience of public life. It may well be said that the country is indebted to such institutions and their work will ever form an important chapter in our national history.

The life and work of the great patriot who founded the Servants of the people Society, 35 years ago, are still a source of inspiration to the whole country. Lala Lajpat Rai's dauntless courage, his fearlessness, his self-confidence and his capacity to remain indifferent to physical and mental suffering are qualities which will do credit to the highest among men. Lala Lajpat Rai was endowed with all

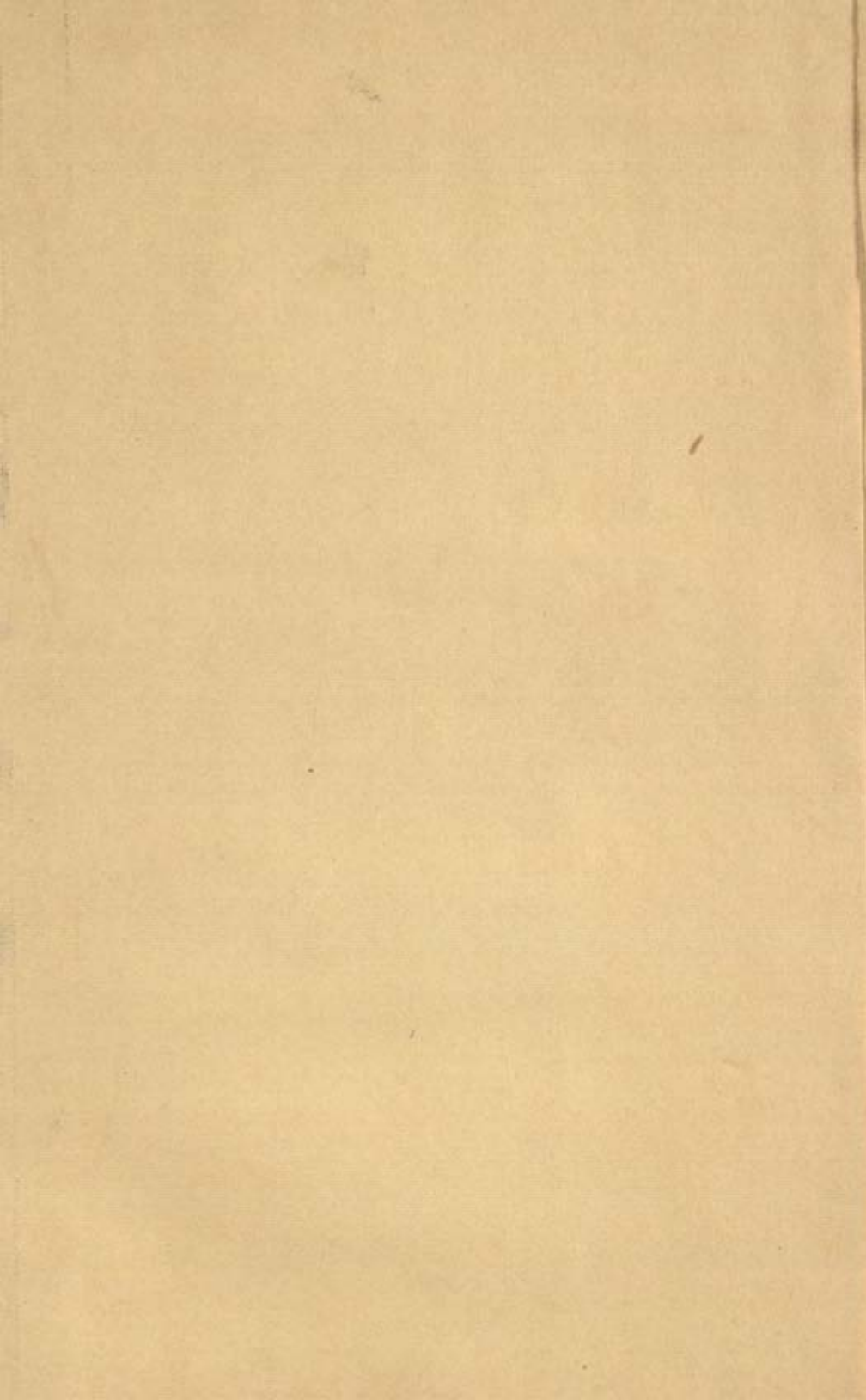
these virtues. He served the country and the nation at a very difficult time. All this, however, belongs to the history of our freedom struggle. It is only natural for all of us to feel happy to see this organization, which he founded and nurtured, in a flourishing state.

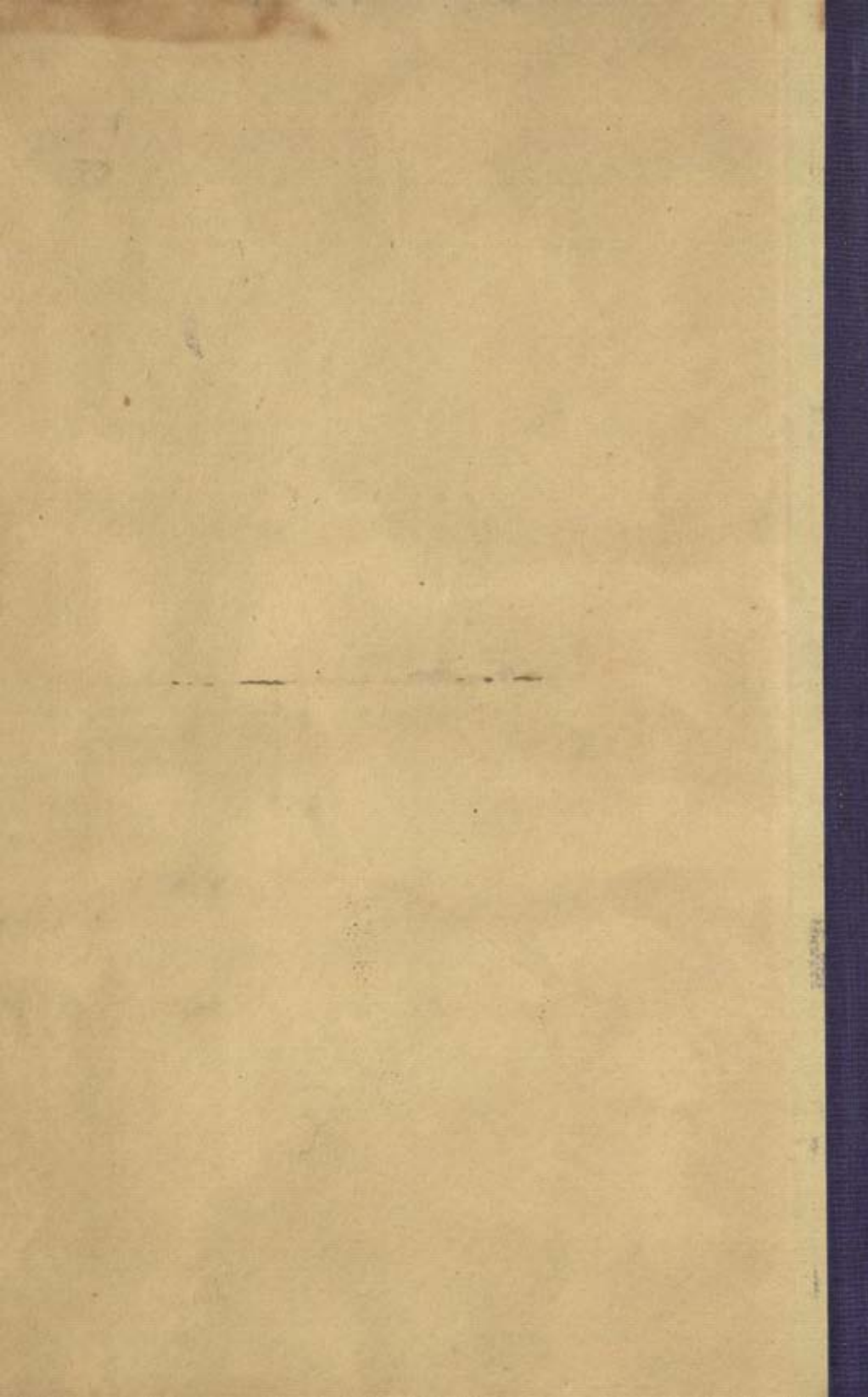
In the face of a hundred distractions and difficulties the Servants of the People Society has continued to do its work of national service even after the Partition. It is, indeed, gratifying that it has now been possible for the Society to build a house for itself. I have no doubt that very soon this House will become a centre of national, social and cultural activities. I pray that the Servants of the People Society may ever remain in the fore of national service and that it may continue to fulfil the high aims and objects with which the late Lala Lajpat Rai founded it.



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